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THE EXCAVATIONS AT  
DURA-EUROPOS

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PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE SECOND SEASON OF WORK,  
OCTOBER 1928—APRIL 1929. *Edited by* P. V. C. BAUR  
*and* M. I. ROSTOVITZEFF.



THE  
Excavations at Dura-Europos

CONDUCTED BY  
YALE UNIVERSITY AND THE FRENCH ACADEMY  
OF INSCRIPTIONS AND LETTERS

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Preliminary Report of Third Season of Work  
November 1929—March 1930

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## CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vii
ABBREVIATIONS	ix
PREFACE	xiii
I. GENERAL REPORT	i
Organization	i
Results of the Excavations	3
M. PILLET	
II. BUILDINGS	18
The Plan of the Temples	18
A. R. BELLINGER	
The Priests' House	25
A. NAUDY	
Dates of Construction	28
H. T. ROWELL	
Notes on Some Buildings	36
M. I. ROSTOVTZEFF	
III. INSCRIPTIONS	40
Greek Inscriptions	40
H. T. ROWELL and A. R. BELLINGER	
Semitic Inscriptions	66
C. C. TORREY	
IV. REPORT ON FINDS	72
Pottery, Lamps, and Glass	72
Armor and Tools	78
Parthian Reliefs and Figurines	82
CLARK HOPKINS	

Sculptures	100
P. V. C. BAUR	
The Coins	139
A. R. BELLINGER	
V. NEW MATERIAL FOR THE HISTORY OF DURA	161
A. R. BELLINGER	
ADDENDA	165
INDEX OF THE INSCRIPTIONS	167



## ILLUSTRATIONS

### TEXT FIGURE

1. Coin of Seleucus I, Nicator

*Page* 1

### PLATES AFTER TEXT

#### I

1. Temple of Artemis
2. Odeum

#### II

1. Temple of Atargatis
2. Temple of Atargatis

#### III

1. Temple of Atargatis
2. Tower 12 *ter*

#### IV Plan of temples of Artemis and Atargatis and Priests' House

#### V Plan of temple of Ninmach

#### VI

1. Plan of temple of Anu-Antum
2. Plan of Syrian sanctuary on Janiculum

#### VII Plan of temple beside Palmyrene Gate

#### VIII

1. Photograph of temple beside Palmyrene Gate
2. Photograph of temple beside Palmyrene Gate
3. Photograph of temple beside Palmyrene Gate

#### IX

1. Inscription of Gemellus
2. Painted inscription

## X

1. Inscription of Julia Domna
2. Inscription of Seleucus Nicator

## XI

1. Armor
2. Parthian altar

## XII

1. Parthian altar
2. Parthian altar

## XIII

1. Figurine
2. Clay Plaque

## XIV Relief of Hadad and Atargatis

## XV

1. Bearded head from temple of Atargatis
2. Bearded head of Zeus Bronton
3. Bearded head from Angora

## XVI

1. Bearded head from temple of Atargatis
2. Bearded head of Zeus Bronton

## XVII Female bust from temple of Atargatis

## XVIII

- 1-5. Elamite Seal Cylinders, Louvre
6. Coin of Carrhae
7. Coin of Hieropolis
8. Coin of Carrhae

## XIX

1. Semitic stele
2. Tesserae from Palmyra

## XX Bronze statuette, Louvre



## ABBREVIATIONS

- A.J.A.*: *American Journal of Archaeology*. The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America, 1885-.
- Arch. Anz.*: *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Berlin, 1886-.
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## PREFACE

THE campaign of 1929-30 was marred by the serious illness of M. Maurice Pillet, the Field Director. After remaining at his post as long as the most exacting conscience could require—longer than anyone else would have thought of requiring, and longer, it is to be feared, than was prudent, he reluctantly allowed himself to be taken at the end of January to the hospital at Aleppo which he left at the end of March, though hardly in a condition to do so, to supervise the complicated work of closing the campaign and making the proper disposition of the material. As a result, his acquaintance with the achievements of the season was necessarily limited and some matters on which his expert opinion was much needed must be treated in this report in a tentative fashion. But, even in his absence, his services were of the highest value, for so thoroughly had he organized the expedition that his assistants, M. André Naudy and Mr. H. T. Rowell, were enabled to go forward without pause or abatement and accomplish results which are no less creditable to him than to them.

As in previous years, the French and Syrian authorities have been of the utmost assistance. M. H. Seyrig, succeeding M. Ch. Vioilleaud as Directeur du Service des Antiquités de la Syrie et du Liban, has continued the benevolent policy of his predecessor and, in his visits to the site and his good offices in the arrangement of many details as well as by his division of the antiquities, has shown a courtesy for which we are extremely grateful. All members of the expedition can testify to the pleasure of contact with the French military authorities, from the Commanding General down. The cordial relations established with them form one of the chief attractions of life at Dura, where the visits of passing officers are always most welcome. We have come to rely, as a matter of course, on the great learning and the constant helpfulness of M. R. Dussaud and M. F. Cumont.

The friendly hospitality of the President and Faculty of the American University at Beirut is familiar to all archaeologists in the Levant and has been a source of great enjoyment to members of the Yale Staff.

Professor Louis H. Gray of Columbia University has again assisted us in the matter of Iranian names, while Professor Charles C. Torrey and Professor Carl H. Kraeling of Yale have been continually consulted on Semitic questions. To Mr. E. T. Newell, President of the

American Numismatic Society, we are indebted for much valuable advice and for the offer to publish in the Notes and Monographs of that Society the two hoards of coins.

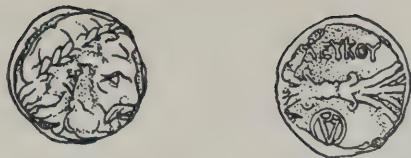
Without the coöperation of the Yale School of the Fine Arts the publication of these reports would be impossible. Not only Dean Meeks and Professor Sizer, but the whole staff, particularly Professor Clark Hopkins, Keeper of the Antiquities from Dura and Jerash, Miss Katharine Atwater, and Miss Josephine Setze, have helped us in innumerable ways, and have done so with an enthusiasm for which our formal thanks are a most inadequate return. We are particularly indebted to Mrs. John Gee and Mr. Frederick Whitney for the cleaning of coins and other bronzes, to which Professor Ralph Van Name, Mrs. Clark Hopkins and Mrs. Alfred R. Bellinger have also contributed. It is a pleasure to recall how much of our success is owed to the interest and skill of our colleagues.

The general report of M. Pillet and the article on the Priests' House by M. Naudy have been translated from the French.

P. V. C. B.  
M. I. R.  
A. R. B.

New Haven, Connecticut,  
June 15, 1931.





Coin of Seleucus I, Nicator

I

GENERAL REPORT ON THE CAMPAIGN OF 1929-30

BY M. PILLET, FIELD DIRECTOR

[*Plates I-III*]

I. ORGANIZATION

DURING this season the Expedition to Dura-Europos consisted of Mr. Henry T. Rowell of Yale University, scientific assistant; M. André Naudy, secretary of the Expedition; and M. Antoine Walter, accountant and photographer. Dr. Alfred R. Bellinger, representative of Yale University, arrived November 5, 1929, and departed January 2, 1930. At Salihyeh itself, the subordinate personnel of the preceding season rejoined us at the end of October and fulfilled their duties to our entire satisfaction, with the exception of the chief foreman, Victor Assal, who had been engaged in the spring of 1928 and whom it was necessary to discharge.

MM. Naudy, Walter, and I, embarking on the *Champollion* which left Marseilles October 15, 1929, arrived at Beirut on the 22d and at Salihyeh the 29th. Thanks to the organization of the preceding campaigns, the work of excavation was begun October 30, 1929, and not ended until the evening of April 9, 1930, the eve of our departure for Beirut.

Laborers at the beginning of the season were supplied only by the inhabitants of the little village of Salihyeh, lying 3 km. south of the ruins, with the addition of some villagers from the vicinity of Meyadine—less than 50 men and boys in all. In November and December this number rose rapidly to about 135, then to nearly 200 in January and February. It declined rapidly in March, particularly in the last ten days of the month, when we could get no more than 40 workmen. At the end of the dig, the evening of April 9, we had only 13 men left. All the nomads had gone back to their agriculture.

The winter (January and February) was exceptionally rainy, and the roads, already much impaired by the high flood in spring, were rendered impassable for several months, so that only the desert roads on the plateau could be used. The principal reason for this was the absence of the strong wind which ordinarily follows rains and quickly dries the ground. The excavations of the temples of Artemis and Atargatis, which are on a low level, were more than once inundated and I was forced to construct a strong embankment to the southwest to protect them. This was twice carried away, but finally stood, and the water which it thus held in covered a great stretch of the ruins lying between the temples and the walls along the desert. Work was thus interrupted several times on this site and was transferred to the south and west ramparts where the slope of the terrain makes it possible always to work in dry ground. The roof and sides of the Excavation House were themselves much injured by the violence of the rain. The following table gives a *résumé* of the meteorological data of the season:

Month	Minimum Temperature		Maximum Temperature		Days of Rain	Sand Storms	Average Number of Workmen
	C.	F.	C.	F.			
Oct., 1929	13	55	26.5	80	0	0	34
Nov., 1929	10	49.5	22	71	1	1	127
Dec., 1929	4.2	39	13	55	6	0	135
Jan., 1930	3.5	37	11	52	11	0	191
Feb., 1930	5.3	41	14.6	58	8	0	184
Mar., 1930	8.1	46	19.4	67	3	4	98
Apr., 1930	15	58.5	25	76.5	2	1	13

Dr. Bellinger took with him at his departure from Salihyeh a number of the small finds whose temporary exportation was authorized by the Service des Antiquités of Syria. Mr. Rowell left Salihyeh March 31 with the convoy of antiquities discovered this season, the division of which had taken place March 28 and 29 at Salihyeh itself where M. H. Seyrig, Directeur du Service des Antiquités, had come for that purpose. Mr. Rowell took charge of the packing and transportation of the antiquities to Aleppo and Beirut and arranged for sending them to New Haven. MM. Naudy and Walter saw to their loading on the Byron Line, when their distribution was agreed upon and the permit to export delivered by the state of Syria.

In spite of the unfavorable atmospheric conditions this season of ex-

cavation was notable for the discovery of numerous inscriptions and some important sculptures.

The health of the members of the Expedition was excellent, except for me, myself, who had to be transported to the hospital at Aleppo on January 28 and was only released March 27, barely recovered. During this long absence MM. Naudy, Rowell, and Walter assumed the direction of the Mission; they did this with so much spirit and intelligence that the work was continued with the same activity as before. I take this opportunity of expressing my great gratitude to them, for it was not without grave misgivings that I was brought to see the necessity of abandoning Salihyeh in this manner.

M. H. Seyrig, Directeur du Service des Antiquités de Syrie, came to inspect our excavations on October 30 and 31, 1929, and again on March 28 and 29, 1930, but we much regretted being deprived, this season, of the visit and advice of our Inspecteur delegated by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

## II. RESULTS OF THE EXCAVATIONS

### 1. *General Aspect.*

The excavations carried out in the course of this season have given us complete knowledge of two religious edifices: the temple of Artemis and that of Atargatis, already partly uncovered by M. Franz Cumont. A priests' house, attached to these edifices, has also been cleared. The temples yielded a rich harvest of dedications of which one is very important since it gives us the name of the Roman colony borne by Dura-Europos in the time of the Emperor Caracalla. These discoveries are augmented by two votive steles and the heads of two statues, as well as several good graffiti. Thanks to the temporary cessation of labor in the sanctuaries inundated by the torrential rains, the clearing of the central portion of the city walls dominating the ravine to the south together with that of the streets which lead to them has given us an understanding of the defensive system on that side of the place.

At the southwest angle of the fortifications, where the bastion defends the junction of the desert walls with those along the south ravine the excavation had to be stopped at a level of archaeological interest at the moment when fragments of clothing and armor had already been brought to light. The fact was that the walls had been so badly dislocated by the earthquake shocks that wall and stone and ancient rein-



forcement of crude brick threatened to engulf us with our workmen if we advanced farther. We shall attempt to prop up these ruins, during the next season, in spite of the difficulty of procuring the necessary wood: in case this is impossible, we shall be obliged to raze one side of the bastion, though even that is not without danger.

At a higher level of these fortifications, vases, pottery, and certain traces of Parthian occupation were found: a potsherd also gave us the latest dated inscription from Dura—the year 249 A.D.

Finally, during my absence, baths were dug on the southeast side of the Palmyrene Gate, and the clearing of a building, probably military, was continued, which had been begun the preceding season and which had given us the hoard of jewelry and coins.

All these documents together make an appreciable addition to our knowledge of the site of Dura-Europos and clear up many points in the history, the general lines of which have already been so brilliantly established by M. Franz Cumont.

## 2. *The Temple of Artemis.*

The temple of Artemis, now completely cleared, appears entirely distinct from that of Atargatis, situated to the northeast, from which it is separated by a street: the *salle aux gradins*<sup>1</sup> with the naos attached to it belongs to this latter temple.

These two sacred buildings are bounded on all four sides by streets accessible to the public. The temple of Artemis occupies an ordinary block of the city (40 m. by 70 m.), while that of Atargatis covers only half of the adjacent block to the northeast (37 m. by 37 m.); the other part, to the southeast, being occupied by a house which seems to have a close connection with the two temples. A narrow alley separates this house from the sanctuary of Atargatis. The chief street of the city running north and south, which ends a little to the south of Tower 12 *ter* on the south ravine, separates the temples of Artemis and Atargatis, but in the sacred precinct it was closed, at least toward the northwest, by a gateway placed at the top of two steps. It was a sacred threshold, separating the sanctuary from the public street. To the southeast the excavations have not yet uncovered the corresponding threshold.

The entrance to the temple of Artemis opens to the northeast, on the sacred way, which is only 4 m. wide and is still further restricted by a bench, furnished with a little stair, placed against the bottom of the

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, Pl. LXI, G.

wall of the temple of Atargatis, which cannot, however, give access to the temple in the manner indicated on the plan of M. Cumont.<sup>2</sup> A second door of the temple opens on the sacred way to the southeast from the portico which stands in front of the Odeum. These are the only means of access to the sacred edifice, which is inclosed all about by thick walls.

The general disposition of the temple of Artemis presents a series of chambers placed against the exterior walls. Around the inside of the chambers run benches or seats, and they open on a large interior court, whose diagonals are oriented with the points of the compass. In the west angle is built the sanctuary, properly speaking, separated from the constructions of the court, with a great sacrificial altar on its southeast side. Nearly in the center of the open space to the northeast, a sacred basin is let down into the pavement of the court. All that side of the court opposite the sanctuary is occupied by the Odeum in the east angle and by two large rooms in the south angle.

The sanctuary of Artemis occupied a space 17.50 m. square on which the chapel of Aphrodite forms a slight projection to the southeast. This season's thorough clearing has completed M. Cumont's excavations at several points. To the northeast of the entrances to the temple and to the sanctuary itself are traces of stairs, the first of which gave access to the roof or the upper story of the apartments of the court, the second, to the tribune or taurobolium(?),<sup>3</sup> then to the roof of the sanctuary. The two rooms D and D<sup>1</sup>, which occupy the northwest side of the façade of the temple of Artemis, intrigued M. Cumont, who was not able to clear them completely from the various ruins accumulated at that point. From this mass of material of all kinds which had collapsed there and made the excavation long and delicate, a clear plan has finally emerged. A broad staircase occupied this part of the façade of the temple in front of room D, where the first steps have been found, made of baked brick and covered with plaster. The stairs then rested on the vault of room D, which opens to the northwest and which must have served as a store-room for objects of the cult, as M. Cumont supposes.<sup>4</sup> Finally the staircase came out on the upper story of D, which makes a small gallery or tribune, serving, doubtless for the public part of the religious ceremonies, most of which seem to have been reserved for the few initiates who took their places on the steps of the sanctuary. This tribune has

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. LXI between E and G, to the left of the word *Passage*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 178-180; Pls. LXI and LXII, D.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

itself been cleared of the ruins which were heaped up in it, in particular from the "construction bizarre, dont la forme est indéfinissable" cited by M. Cumont.<sup>5</sup> The four half columns undoubtedly belong to the façade of this construction and are of the same diameter (0.53 m.) as those of the citadel, from which they may have been taken after its ruin caused by the earthquake of 160 A.D.

It is in this part of the temple that most of the votive inscriptions were found, in particular that commemorating the construction of a chapel by a certain Abeismachchinios in the year 33 or 73 A.D. (D. 152); that of doors by Ammonios in 148 (D. 164); those of Abouilim in 74 (D. 153) and of Abidneriglos son of Zabidilaïos in 2 (D. 161); another giving the name of Seleucus Nicator (D. 151); and, above all, that dedicated to Julia Domna (193-217 A.D.) wife of the Emperor Septimius Severus (D. 149), which preserves for us the name of the Roman colony, Aurelia Antoniniana Europos, which the town became under Caracalla. Finally we must mention a little silver head.<sup>6</sup>

Another important verification is that the sanctuary, C,<sup>7</sup> was originally a "*salle aux gradins*," whose emplacements are still visible around the door opening into the naos, C<sup>1</sup>: a door which was decorated with various votive monuments, the traces of which M. Cumont has recovered.<sup>8</sup> Following its total ruin, its steps, dated from the years 6 B.C. to 140 A.D., were employed as pavement for the new room,<sup>9</sup> one end of which was cut off by a wall of Roman construction, composed of steps re-used, crude and baked bricks and cement.

The naos C<sup>1</sup> is flanked by two annexes undoubtedly destined to contain objects of the cult.

All this part of the temple, though it is the most sacred, is constructed of crude brick set in mud plaster, and covered by a coating of plaster, of which one finds only rare traces. Only the doorways and the pavement are of white stone, which testifies to constructions of an earlier and a later period.

The great altar, situated outside the sanctuary to the southeast, built of white stone, is in a ruinous state. Its base measures about 3 m. by 2.50 m. and it was approached, from the northeast, by a stone stair, 0.70 m. wide, of which three steps are well preserved. The first is 4.50 m.

<sup>5</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 179.

<sup>6</sup> This, with other small finds, will be published in the next report.

<sup>7</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 174-177 and Pl. LXI, C.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 174-176.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 176 f. and Inscr. Nos. 57 to 84.



from the altar, which allows us to suppose that the upper platform of the altar was about 2.30 m. above the ground. On the southeast side of the stair is a little thymiaterion still attached to the wall, but without inscription.

The accumulation, around the sanctuary of Artemis and the exterior altar, of numerous blocks of hard reddish stone which are abundant in the ravines around Dura, is the most curious peculiarity of the sacred edifice.<sup>10</sup> They cannot have been so grouped by an earthquake, nor employed in the construction; since their rounded shape and especially the great weight of most of them would make it impossible to incorporate them in the walls of the temple or of its annexes, which are not thick. They are not employed in great number in the constructions of Dura, except in the form of small rubble. These stones, then, were placed in antiquity in the place where they were discovered, and it seems that we must see in them the remains of a sacred grove, imitating those woods planted on the slopes of the rocky hills of Syria, and surrounding the sanctuary of Artemis as well as its monumental altar. One meets such groves in almost all the descriptions of ancient religious ceremonies, in the Orient as well as in Greece. The little rooms which open on the northwest and southwest sides of the court, behind the sanctuary of Artemis (N, O, V, X, and Z), would perhaps be, in that case, the lodging of priestesses or devotees of the goddess. Room V, the first at the northeast, which has preserved numerous graffiti on its covering of plaster, has a little wicket or window opening on room X, which is long and has a bench around the inside.

The rooms of the north angle of the court (S, T, U) appear to have been two of the chapels (S, U) mentioned by the inscriptions found at this point, separated by the vestibule T, at the door of which is a little thymiaterion ornamented with the emblem of Hadad. In the interior against the north wall was found another altar base and a curious little graffito with a Greek inscription.<sup>11</sup> The two chapels S and U, like most of the rooms surrounding the great court (O, N, M, K, I, J, R), have that interior bench which is found in the houses of Dura, and which served as a low seat on which one put rugs and cushions.

The rectangular basin or pond which was found a little distance from the east angle of the sanctuary of Artemis measures 8.40 m. by 4.35 m.

<sup>10</sup> Editorial Note. For a different explanation of these stones, see below, p. 33.

<sup>11</sup> Editorial Note. The publication of the graffiti is reserved for the report of next year.



outside. Its sides go down only 0.40 m. to 0.50 m., and the bottom, which rests on rock, is 0.50 m. below the exterior pavement. At the northwest, the border of the pond is interrupted by two steps descending into the basin. Although oriented a little differently from the buildings of the temple, it is not to be confused with the foundations of buildings which had been leveled in the south angle of the court. Besides, given the disposition of the buildings grouped around it, this orientation corresponds to the best visibility for spectators scattered through the court. Placed almost side by side with the great altar, it presents its shorter sides to the vestibule of the temples and to the Odeum. There seems to be no doubt as to the employment of the basin, for which M. Cumont looked in room M, on the southwest side of the court.<sup>12</sup> The Maioumas, celebrated in antiquity and in high honor in Syria down to the last centuries of paganism,<sup>13</sup> may then have been displayed here. The rock gardens mentioned above complete the habitual scene of this religious ceremony, one of the most licentious festivals of ancient times.<sup>14</sup>

The Odeum<sup>15</sup> situated in the east angle was completely cleared of the earth which still encumbered its center. The graffiti, scratched on the interior pillars of the doorway, have already been published by M. Cumont,<sup>16</sup> and, except for a lance head and a bronze arrowhead, no new discoveries were made there. About 4 m. in front of the building there were uncovered the foundations of a portico, consisting of four columns, resting on square bases and constructed of cemented rubble covered with plaster. At its northeast extremity, a little door gives access to the sacred way, and another, beside the northeast pillar of the façade of the Odeum, opens on a small room where one finds the entrance to the subterranean gallery which runs under the seats.

This theater or meeting hall which is a part of the accessories of the temple of Artemis is a construction of the Roman period and the great court which separates it from the sanctuary dates, without doubt, from this time, to judge by the leveling of ancient buildings found under its surface. The Odeum itself is completely isolated from the exterior wall of the temple.

No ancient evidence is left us as to the original use of the two last rooms (Y and Y<sup>1</sup>) discovered in the south angle of the court, behind

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 193-194.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 189-190 and 201-202.

<sup>14</sup> Editorial Note. In default of other evidence, it is hardly safe to suppose that the Maioumas was celebrated at Dura.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, H on Pl. LXIII, 1.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 125-127, pp. 445-447.

rooms I, J, and K, but it seems that they were devised for meetings rather than for service as storerooms. Y<sup>1</sup> was, without doubt, only a kind of tribune or raised platform.

### 3. *The Temple of Atargatis.*

This edifice covers a space about 37 m. square; its back is to the sacred way, on which it does not open. Its principal entrance is turned north-east, like that of the temple of Artemis, whose plan it reproduces very closely on a smaller scale. A secondary entrance opens to the northwest on one of the main streets of the town like the sacred way itself.

The vestibule, 1, is square, leading east, with a small apartment located under the staircase to the upper story which opens on the inner court. This apartment must have served as lodging for the guardian of the temple. In the vestibule was discovered, first the dedicatory stele of Lysanias (D. 157) who built the vestibule and its doors in the year 91 A.D.; then, on the northwest side, a little altar or thymiaterion, dedicated to the god Sasados by Scaurianus, son of Maximus (D. 158). It is still in place, bound into the vestibule's pavement of baked brick which dates from the end of the second, or rather from the third, century of our era. One might be tempted to see in this divinity's name that of Sassan, father(?) of Papek, the ancestor of the Sassanid dynasty (224-651 A.D.). Farther on, in the east room, 3, which opens on the court through a portico of two columns, there was found a little altar dedicated in 235 A.D. by a certain Masicus to another god, Saddoudan (D. 160). Near the door of the eastern apartment, 2, was found, further, the dedication of a certain Nicanor, son of Dionysius, who, in 92 A.D., constructed a chapel and the treasure chamber of the temple (D. 159). This may be chamber 2 itself, which would explain the narrow corridor, d, which separates its wall from that of the neighboring alley. However, one would rather place this treasury in the group of rooms, 6, 7, and 8, in the south angle.

The court, measuring about 22 m. by 16 m., is almost entirely paved with baked brick of the Roman period. Facing the entrance, there is a great altar of sacrifice built of white stone, with steps along the north-east face, but it is so ruinous that it is difficult to judge its exact dimensions, which were close to 2 m. square. The same difficulty arises in the case of the small monuments which seem to have been erected around it and which were shapeless when found, except for some column drums of stone.

The sanctuary is backed directly against the sacred way, which is to the southwest. Its façade, in front of M. Cumont's *salle aux gradins*, G, was cleared at the beginning of the season and preserved for us the best finds, with the name of the divinity to whom the edifice was consecrated. On the south side there is first the altar dedicated by Gemellus<sup>17</sup> to Atargatis (D. 145), with the fragments of an inscription painted on the plaster behind this monument (D. 146). The fresco, painted in 225 or 235 A.D., associates Hadad with Atargatis. On each side of this altar are two others, bearing no inscription, but, in front, was found a handsome stele of hard limestone, rounded at the top (height 1.02 m., width 0.43 m.), embellished with a crescent and solar disk, the emblem of Hadad, at the top of a column on two steps, and an inscription in eight lines of cursive Syriac (see below, pp. 68 ff.).

On the north side of the façade was found a stout round Doric column (diameter, 0.66 m.) of well-cut drums without any trace of inscription. It had fallen but the parts were so nearly complete that it was possible to set it up again. Also, we found a pretty bas-relief (0.406 m. by 0.28 m.) intact but also without inscription. It represents the goddess Atargatis with the god Hadad at her side: both are seated on thrones flanked by the heads of lions and bulls with a sort of banner surmounted by a crescent behind them, which might be compared to a Roman standard, but which is not one. The whole is identical with the famous coin of Hieropolis (Membij), struck under Caracalla (see below, pp. 100 ff.).

Not far away a stone step, broken in pieces, had been used in the pavement (D. 144); it bore the date 76 or 176 A.D.

In the naos (6<sup>1</sup>) the rains rendered visible the traces of a fresco painted on the plaster of the rear wall: it seemed to be a kind of bucranium of which only the horns, painted black, were really distinct. To right and left of this sanctuary two little annexes about 3.60 m. by 2.50 m. were cleared; like the naos they were built of crude brick.

Finally, in the middle of the northwest side of the court, a second *salle aux gradins* was discovered, 8.65 m. wide and 5 m. deep, opening directly on the central court. The last four steps on both sides are well preserved and are constructed of rubble covered with plaster. No inscription was found. At present the steps and the floor of the room are paved with small baked bricks. At the end of the room, against the exterior wall of the temple, were found three small pedestals, about 1

<sup>17</sup> Identical in form and style to that of Gemellus to Artemis, discovered by M. Cumont, in the temple of that goddess (Cumont, No. 51, p. 409 and Pl. CXIII, 1).



m. high, which undoubtedly supported statues of the kind found by M. Cumont on the same sort of pedestal in the sanctuary of Atargatis (G). Two meters in front of this room (to the southeast) can still be seen the base of an altar which completes, on a reduced scale, the resemblance to the principal sanctuary. Therefore it seems that one may, in spite of the absence of any explicit document, attribute this sanctuary to the god Hadad, whom the stele, discovered not far from here, represents to us as of less importance. The omission of his name on dedications in the temple also appears to establish the fact that he was only a secondary associate in the cult of the great goddess.

At the southwest side of the room is the second entrance of the temple (f), to the west of which is an exedra (11) on which opens another room (10). Between this and the sanctuary in another room (9) may be seen the base of an altar or of a statue.

The alley, about 40 m. long, which borders the southeast wall of the temple of Atargatis, isolates it completely on that side. Very narrow (1.60 m.) at its entrance to the sacred way, then cut by three little low walls which allow only a narrow passage, it opens on the street on which the temple faces with a width of 2.74 m. Several terra cotta lamps, objects of bronze and coins were found there as well as a white stone head of a woman or goddess of passable quality. Another head, of soft limestone, found in the street along the front of the temple undoubtedly represents the god Hadad if one may judge by the resemblance which it presents to the bas-relief mentioned above. He wears mustache, beard, and curly hair and the pupils of the eyes are made of black stone (see below, p. 102).

#### 4. *Comparative Study of the Temples.*

The comparison of the two sacred edifices of Artemis and Atargatis shows a complete similarity of plan and construction, corresponding, without doubt, to a nearly identical ceremonial in the cult of these divinities. A main entrance, flanked by two little exterior chapels, gives access to a *salle aux gradins*, preceding the naos of the temple with its pedestal supporting the statue of the divinity and its two little rooms for sacred objects. The whole opens on a great court, surrounded by various chambers, in the midst of which rises a great sacrificial altar. The same plan is found again in the temple of the Palmyrene gods<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Cumont, Pl. XXV. Completed by our excavations in the season of 1928-29. Its entrance also lies to the east.



whose almost total ruins yet allow the same disposition to be seen—except for the *salle aux gradins*—together with the great exterior altar.

As to the date of these buildings, the various documents dug up, in connection with the construction itself, fix the date of the last restoration of the temples in the middle of the third century A.D., under Roman domination. The steles and other monuments were found still in place when they had not been used in the construction or in the pavements. They carry us only to the beginning of the Christian era: 6 B.C. for one of the steps of the temple of Artemis found by M. Cumont,<sup>19</sup> or 2 A.D. for the inscription of Abdnergal discovered this year (D. 161). In the course of ages various catastrophes, particularly the earthquake of 160, must have ruined the edifices whose last remains seem to be the doors of white limestone, with their thresholds, perhaps restored. All the rest of the construction was replaced hastily and cheaply with the aid of crude brick covered with plaster decorated with frescoes.

Professor Rostovtzeff has been kind enough to suggest to me the possible comparison of these temples with those consecrated to the same divinities at Delos in the second half of the second century B.C. At the moment one can do no more than sketch this likeness, since the plan of the Greek buildings has not yet been published, and the rough draft which appeared long ago<sup>20</sup> does not allow one to pursue the study very far. One can simply state that at Delos one finds in the sacred buildings dedicated to the Syrian gods the same elements as in those at Dura: a great court surrounded by little rooms, an Odeum, exedra, and altar entirely outside the sanctuary.

Going farther back, as Breasted<sup>21</sup> and Cumont<sup>22</sup> have done, one may suggest the connection with the Babylonian edifices of the sixth century B.C.<sup>23</sup> Consecrated to divinities of which the great number afterward passed into the Syrian pantheon with a part of their age-old ritual, these temples of Babylon exhibit a distribution similar to that which one finds in the temple plan at Dura. There is the same removal of the crowd from the sacred ceremonies which are witnessed only by a small number of initiates; the same exterior altars for the offerings of the worshipers;

<sup>19</sup> Inscr. 57; pp. 412 f.

<sup>20</sup> M. Holleaux, "Rapport sur les travaux exécutés dans l'île de Délos 1909," *C.R.A.I.*, 1910, pp. 289–314, plan pp. 288–289; and T. Roussel, *Délos, colonie athénienne*, pp. 255 ff.

<sup>21</sup> *Syria*, III, 1922, p. 185; *Oriental Forerunners*, p. 68.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>23</sup> R. Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*; 1913, *passim*.

the same great altar, reserved for the ceremonial sacrifices and situated outside the temples. There is the same series of small rooms grouped around a great court at the end of which is the sanctuary, with its naos and its two annexes. But these comparisons may be made only with circumspection, due to the almost total ruin of the sacred edifices which have come down to us and to our ignorance of ancient ritual.

#### 5. *The Customs House.*

We may give this name to the building situated at the northeast side of the Palmyrene Gate, the excavation of which, begun the preceding season, gave us two great iron wheels and the hoard of jewels and coins. Its clearing is almost finished, though one cannot yet certainly define its use. However, given its proximity to the great gate of the town, where an inscription informs us that there was a toll or customs house, the indications of the plan and the objects found, it seems that there was here the warehouse for merchandise entering the town and subjected to the local taxes, combined with a guardhouse. A great room whose roof was supported by four rectangular pillars of masonry opened through a large door on the grand avenue of Dura, with a façade whose lintel was held by two square pillars. In back, to the northeast, a door gives access to various rooms, and thence to the interior boulevard which runs along the ramparts. The whole presents clear traces of reconstruction, without doubt following a partial destruction which betrays itself by two different levels of construction and sundry changes brought about in the interior arrangement.

#### 6. *The Baths of the Palmyrene Gate.*

Facing the customs house on the other side of the avenue of Dura are baths, smaller than those cleared in the course of the preceding season, but apparently more luxurious. A portico preceded this establishment on the public street and its clearing, last year, produced numerous vestiges of paintings with which its walls were decorated. Unfortunately, they were reduced to such small fragments that it was with difficulty that even a few geometric patterns were saved.

The waiting room (A) into which one first enters runs along the street and has a little annex (B) and a cloakroom (C) on its southwest side. In the east corner of this vestibule a door communicates with a vast frigidarium (O) at the end of which is a pool (W). By another door, opening in the middle of the southwest side of the frigidarium, one goes

next into the tepidarium (E) whose pavement is made of a mosaic of large tesserae without ornamental motif. It also had a pool (X) near that of the frigidarium, on the southeast side.

Two laconica (F and G) with *suspensurae* of round tiles open directly from the tepidarium; their floor mosaic is entirely torn up. Their sides were heated by clay pipes with which the walls were provided. Finally, one passes from the east laconicum (G) into a calidarium (H) which had two pools (Y and Z). The water for these baths or pools which are all on the same line, on the southeast side of the building, was received in settling basins or tanks close to the heating plant, situated at the eastern extremity of the baths. As in the northwest baths, no object of interest was found in this construction, which must date from the last years of the second or the beginning of the third century of our era.

East of the inner redoubt, by the modern road to Abu-Kemal and facing the excavation house, other baths are buried in the rubbish accumulated around the place where rise those sections of wall built of brick and concrete, characteristic of Roman construction in all regions.

To Dura, as to all points in their vast empire, the Romans brought their strong political organization and their care for their comfort. They valued balneotherapy, and no difficulties kept them from procuring its benefits. The Euphrates flows between level banks at the foot of Dura, but, as the town was situated about 25 m. above its course, the water necessary for the consumption of the inhabitants as well as for the supply of the baths had to be transported with difficulty in skins by men or asses. The vast dolia of terra cotta which one finds in every house in the town must have served as reservoirs in which the water cleared itself by the settling of the mud which is carried down by the Euphrates. Except in the high citadel, where military reasons made it imperative, no cistern devised to store rain water has yet been found.

### 7. The South Ramparts.

The prolongation of the sacred way, which our railroad for *débris* followed, ends some 15 m. south of Tower 12 *ter*<sup>24</sup> which strengthens the wall running along the ravine to the south and east. During the winter, the necessity of taking the workmen to a dry terrain led us to clear this

<sup>24</sup> We have preserved temporarily M. Cumont's numbering (Pl. II and *Rep. I*, p. 7, Fig. 3), but, as all the towers are not there numbered, we have been obliged to add the designations *bis* and *ter*.



tower and the connected ramparts to a distance of about 100 m. on each side. The tower itself, constructed of good blocks of gypseous limestone, is only attached by its west angle and a part of its northwest side to the outer fortifications which are also built of the same white stone. The tower was cleared to a depth of about 7 m. without finding anything in the interior except a structure of crude brick supporting the upper story where reinforcement walls (0.82 m.) of crude brick held up the floor and the platform for defense: a staircase of crude brick gave access to this in the west corner of the tower. On the interior southwest wall of the tower appears a graffito in large irregular letters, in three lines, giving the name of Artemidorus Mikkalos.

A single door (1.20 m. wide), with a triangular arch formed by the successive projection of the courses above, affords communication between the tower and the curtain which connects the towers back of the ramparts and isolates the fortifications from the town itself. This curtain, irregular in width but with a minimum of 2.75 m., runs between the exterior rampart of cut stone and the supporting wall or secondary rampart (*contre-escarpe*) against which the houses of the town are built. This wall is constructed on a line broken at regular intervals, forming bastions, in a direction slightly different from the exterior rampart. It is built of masonry: rubble of reddish stones, hard and rounded, bound and covered with plaster.

The city streets end in this curtain, enlarging it into squares to form real military stations midway between the towers, where one could organize the defense. The larger part of these military stations were below the streets but about 2 m. above the level of the curtain which they dominated and from which they were separated by perpendicular rock scarcely dressed. These excavations joined to those of the curtain going from Tower 13 *bis* to the southwest bastion have made us more familiar with the city's system of defense. One finds, besides the defenses taken against the enemy without, the constant endeavor to isolate the garrison from the inhabitants themselves.<sup>25</sup>

#### 8. *The Southwest Bastion.*

The angle of the ramparts forming the juncture between the line along the desert and that which commands the south and east presented, before this season's dig, the appearance of a strong bastion from which emerged various sections of wall.

<sup>25</sup> *Rep. I*, p. 9.



The constructions uncovered, however, show nothing but the angle of the two exterior walls, built of stone, beside which, on the desert side, rises a rectangular tower (14 or K)<sup>26</sup> like those which intersperse the long line of ramparts. The thing which rendered the whole imposing was the mass of earth, held by oblique walls of crude brick, such as one meets at the Palmyrene Gate and beside the tower of the Palmyrene gods which forms the corresponding salient on that side. This precarious restoration of the disaster of the year 160 was completed, in the interior of Tower 14, by two crude brick walls crossing at right angles following the axes of construction.

The dislocation of the stone walls is so great that the west face of the tower, toward the desert, was completely demolished and the other sides have sunken places and fissures which imperil the building greatly. The door communicating between the upper story of the tower and the curtain, toward the town, was found partly sunken and then walled up with crude brick. In the course of the work the excavation showed itself so dangerous that it was stopped, though fragments of arms, armor, and textiles gave us reason to hope for discoveries of importance. It is doubtful whether the work can be resumed, at least without the danger of razing the greater part of the tower itself.

However, the excavation was not in vain, for it gave us several fine specimens of vases, one of them glazed, a little stele showing a warrior, two cubes of stone of the Roman period showing in relief the bust of a helmeted soldier, a curious altar bearing Parthian reliefs on each of its faces, and fragments of molded plaster after the model of the cornice of Orthonobazus.<sup>27</sup>

Beside the south ravine the curtain which was threatening to collapse had been supported by three pillars of crude brick coated with earth and covered with a fine coat of plaster. They crumbled in part in the course of the excavations.

The masses of ashes, banked against the shaken constructions to hold them up, encountered at this point, were like those already studied at Dura in the course of the preceding season. Only a few small objects or coins were found in them.

The excavations were also carried on along the curtain of the south ravine to Tower 13 *bis* and some 30 meters farther, to the entrance of one of the city streets, the façades of whose houses were cleared. There

<sup>26</sup> Cumont, Pls. II and III.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 226-238.

again the shaken ramparts had been propped up and almost overwhelmed in walls of crude brick. Houses were then built on this side of the walls which, in spite of their dilapidation, defended the town from assaults of the enemy. One of these has given us a Safaitic inscription cut on the plaster covering of a column.

Just behind this column there is an altar of Babylonian character, important and almost intact. It measures 1.60 m. at the base and 1.33 m. at the top which is 1.80 m. above the ground. A little stair of four steps, 0.62 m. wide with a total height of 1.20 m., to the northeast of the altar, gave a means of mounting to it for sacrificial offerings. This monument, so characteristic of Dura, indicates that a temple stood at the foot of the southwest bastion, forming a counterpart to the temple of the Palmyrene gods. As it was anterior to the disaster of the year 160, its remains must be under the mass of crude brick and ashes heaped up there to support the shaken walls of the fortification.

The clearing of Tower 13 *bis* could not be pushed very far, but it seems that it had been filled up almost entirely, like Tower 12 *ter*, by a structure of crude brick which leaves little hope of finding traces of antiquity there.

### 9. *The Triumphal Arch.*

In the course of an inspection of the monument which I think to be a triumphal arch to the north of the ancient city, I discovered, on November 6, three stones bearing fragments of a Roman inscription, in tall letters of about 0.20 m. They are the remains of the dedication of this edifice, the rest of which should be found among the numerous blocks which lie scattered over the mound of ruins into which the arch has fallen.

The clearing of the stones covering the desert around the triumphal arch brought to view a line raised above the ground which M. Naudy showed me. One can follow it for more than a kilometer east and west of the triumphal arch about 1,500 m. from the walls of the city. It must mark the line of the walls around the cultivated land of the town, a feature which one finds around most towns of the ancient Orient. It is natural to find it at Dura, the town itself being restricted in size and inclosed by ramparts limiting the space available for the crowded houses. The flocks could find no shelter within the walls; they remained outside near the ramparts, protected by a simple inclosure preventing the animals from escaping or from being carried off by surprise.

## II

### BUILDINGS

#### I. THE PLAN OF THE TEMPLES

BY A. R. BELLINGER

CUMONT's excavations of 1922-23 laid bare a considerable part of the temple of Artemis together with the naos and *salle aux gradins* of the temple of Atargatis. He naturally regarded them as parts of a single temple, believing that he had found a small staircase connecting the two. On further examination this has proved to be an error. The first step of the supposed staircase is a bench which runs along the street separating the two temples, attached to the wall of the temple of Atargatis and opposite the entrance to the temple of Artemis. The second step is one of the cubical stones found so frequently on the site which happened to lie on the bench but was not attached to it. The upper steps were merely breaks in the mud brick wall. A staircase in this place could have led nowhere since it would run up the wall dividing the naos of Atargatis from one of the flanking chambers with no possibility of descent. The clearing of both buildings has shown conclusively that they were entirely separate.

But, though he was misled in this matter, he concluded correctly that he was dealing with a sanctuary whose affinities were oriental, and referred in his discussion (pp. 169 ff.) to the temples of Babylon and Asshur for comparison. We are now in a position to define the plan of our buildings more exactly and to look for closer parallels. It will be seen (Pl. IV) that the essential features of the scheme are as follows: (1) an entrance at the east end through a vestibule; (2) a central open court, surrounded by small rooms and containing an altar; (3) a pronaos with its greatest length at right angles to the line from the entrance to the naos; (4) a naos at the west end, flanked by two small rooms to left and right. It will be seen also that the temple of the Palmyrene gods (*Rep. II*, Pl. VII) reproduces the same features with some modification. There the entrance (Q) is not quite opposite the naos; the pronaos (A) has a chamber (D) beside it, whereas the naos (B) is flanked by one chamber only (C) the other side being occupied by the tower. All these divergencies may be explained by the special conditions of this temple, placed in an angle of the fortifications. But symmetry is not essential to these buildings. In the normal Greek temple the entrance is directly



in front of the sanctuary so that the worshiper may see the statue of the divinity as he comes in and so that the morning sun may light it, but here it is not the sanctuary itself but the great court, open to the sky, which the worshiper first enters and it is from this court and not from the entrance that the holy of holies is lighted. We have, then, three temples to different divinities all constructed on the same plan.

The origin of this will at once be apparent by comparing it with the ground plan of the Ninmach temple at Babylon (Pl. V, from Koldewey, *The Excavations at Babylon*, p. 56). Here also the entrance is somewhat off center and the pronaos and naos each have one flanking chamber, but the essential arrangement is otherwise the same except that the altar stood before the entrance and not within the court and that the temple is not oriented east and west. Sardanapalus (668–626 B.C.) speaks of renewing this temple which was doubtless much older than Assyrian times, but the earliest parts datable with certainty bear the name of Nebuchadnezzar (604–561) who restored it, though it is unlikely that either he or Sardanapalus originated the plan, which is probably of great antiquity. But even before Alexander the decline of Babylon had begun, and the restoration that he planned he did not live to carry out. So it is not likely that the builders of Dura drew their inspiration direct from that city.

As it happens, we know of another site which proves that this temple plan was in use at a much later time. Warka (the biblical Erech), south of Babylon, has a temple of Anu and Antum built in the Seleucid Era, whose arrangement is the same as that of the earlier Babylonian building. (Pl. VI, 1, from Jordan, *Uruk-Warka*, Pl. 18.) Here the altar is in the court. The temple faces northeast rather than east and, because of the double sanctuary, it is not symmetrical. Otherwise its likeness to the Dura temples is apparent. This form was in use, then, at the time of the foundation of Dura. But was it in the days of the town's foundation that the Dura temples were built? Until the study of them is complete it will be impossible to give a definite answer, but at present our evidence leads us to reply in the affirmative. On the basis of the inscriptions found *in situ*, we should date the buildings much later (see below, pp. 29 ff. and 161 ff.), but these inscriptions are not our earliest finds. There is, for one thing, the inscription to Seleucus Nicator (D. 151), there is the fragment of Hellenistic pottery, there is at least one piece of Hellenistic jewelry, and there are the Seleucid coins. These are items of varying degrees of cogency. The stone with the inscription was upside



down and had no apparent connection with the existing walls. Of course the probability is that it was originally used in the general area where it was found, but it is not impossible that it was introduced from some other place. Hopkins remarks (p. 72) that it is strange that only one piece of Hellenistic pottery should have come to light. Probably some of the sherds which Cumont found (Appendice, pp. 455 ff.) came from the temples but, as he gives no indication of the provenance of the various types, we cannot argue from them. Still, slight though it is, our one fragment is evidence, so far as it goes, of the use of the site in Greek times.

The matter of the jewel deserves a slight digression. Cumont had found the room to the north of the naos in the temple of Artemis but not that to the south, nor had he been able to excavate the one he did find completely. The clearing of this chamber yielded chiefly trifling fragments of glass and pottery but also a few pieces of the shells of ostrich eggs. Ostrich eggs hung from the ceiling as ornaments may still be seen in the mosques and churches of Syria, and it is undoubtedly such a purpose that these served, either adorning the room in which they were found or, perhaps, stored there for use elsewhere in the temple. There is some reason to suppose that these little rooms were decorated—the one to the south in the temple of Atargatis showed traces of color when first excavated—but they were certainly not intended for the public, and they would be the most appropriate place for the preservation of valuable objects. A number of such were found scattered about the south room in the temple of Artemis. There was a handful of bronze coins, all of them Seleucid except one, which was of Marcus Aurelius. There were fragments of bronze and beads; there was part of a ring with a covering of gold; and there was a little glass face, probably representing Athena, set in a bronze frame that had been gilded. Professor Zahn, on a recent visit to New Haven, pointed out that this was unquestionably part of a ring of the third century B.C. These miscellaneous objects, a study of which is reserved for the next report, were certainly the remnants of a temple treasure, the more valuable portions of which had been carried off by the Sassanians. As in the case of the inscription, it is probable that they had originally been put in the building where they were found, but, of course, they might perfectly well have been transferred from some other.

But no such explanation will serve in the case of the casual coins, and

the Seleucid pieces among them, found throughout the temples of Artemis and of Atargatis both, prove beyond dispute that this was an area of importance during the Seleucid *régime*. They do not prove that the buildings now standing there are the original buildings, but they raise a presumption that such is the case which can only be met by the discovery of remains of an earlier structure. The inscriptions, which are much later, do not suffice, for there is nothing in the dedication of a special room or a special step to prove that it was contemporary with the foundation of the temple. The great majority of these inscriptions come either from the *salle aux gradins* of Atargatis or from the corresponding room, now dismantled, in the temple of Artemis. As these rooms must have been built at the same time as the naos, it is logical to conclude, as does Rowell (p. 29) that the temple of Artemis dates from about 6 B.C. But it will be noticed that the inscriptions in question come from the steps which give these rooms their distinctive quality but which are not essential to them, as seen in room C of the temple of Artemis where they have been removed and used for flooring. Now these steps have no counterpart in the Babylonian plan and, considering their dates, it is surely probable that they were a Parthian innovation for the purpose of increasing the visibility in a pronaos already long established. Neither here nor in the temple of the Palmyrene gods (where the finding of a single coin of Antiochus I gives us much less firm grounds for assigning it to Seleucid times) are the inscriptions fatal to the theory of a foundation early in the city's history.

With the plan and the finds combining to indicate such a foundation it might be felt that the matter was settled, but it can hardly be disposed of finally yet. For one thing, architectural fragments, apparently of some building of stone re-used in the temple of Artemis, have still to be explained. Then, too, there is a certain unlikelihood in the whole theory. It is all very well for Warka in the center of Babylonian influence, with purely Babylonian traditions, to build a temple to Babylonian gods on a Babylonian plan even in Seleucid times. But here we are dealing with a Macedonian colony with no other connection with Babylonia at all which we can discover, and with temples to Greek, Syrian, and Palmyrene gods. The fact that the same arrangement was used for different deities need not trouble us; the instances cited from Babylon and Warka show that this was a type of temple in which a variety of gods might be worshipped just as Zeus or Athena or Poseidon would be housed in the

same kind of building in Greece. Moreover, for anything we know to the contrary, Atargatis and the three gods Aglibol, Iarhibol, and Malakhbel may already have become familiar with this style of dwelling. But with Artemis it is different. Cumont (chap. iii) discusses her identity with Nanaia and argues that her worship at Dura was an oriental cult. This might be appropriate enough in a temple built after a couple of centuries when the town had been subjected to oriental influence for a long time, but it does not fit so well with the first years of a new colony established to protect Hellenic culture in the midst of a doubtful or hostile desert. And, as a matter of fact, the Greek Artemis is much better attested than the Semitic Nanaia. The latter is mentioned only once, on a graffito (Cumont, Inscr. 55) associating her with Hadad and found in the temple of Artemis, where, as we now know, he did not belong. Artemis, on the other hand, appears twice among Cumont's inscriptions (50 and 51) both times as the recipient of formal and important dedications. Still more striking is her association with Apollo in D. 156 and D. 161, in the latter of which the pair are characterized as ἀρχηγοί. We could hardly ask for more convincing evidence that, at a time when these temples certainly were in use, she was still regarded as a deity peculiarly associated with the Greek settlers. It would be a distinct satisfaction, therefore, if later investigations could show that the beginning of her residence at Dura was in a home of familiar form. In the meanwhile, the present temple is a fact and some sort of worship must have been carried on suitable to its arrangement.

Cumont, pp. 202, 203, has a discussion of the probable nature of the ritual for which the *salles aux gradins* were devised. Their shape and position are such that they cannot have been intended to give a view of the sanctuary, and they would be equally unsatisfactory for the watching of a procession. The rooms are, in effect, small theatral areas, in which he suggests that music and dancing formed an important part of the worship. For the worship of Atargatis we have also other hints from Lucian and Apuleius. The former (*De dea Syria*, C. 50) reports that upon the festival days the Galli and priests of the temple performed an orgiastic ceremony, cutting their arms with knives and beating one another's backs while many stood by playing the flute and drumming. This took place, he says, outside the sanctuary. Apuleius (*Metamorphoses*, VIII, 27, 28) gives a more elaborate description of the cutting and scourging practiced by the itinerant priests, and records also as an



essential part of the ceremony the carrying about of the image of the goddess. We may conjecture, then, that the cultus statue of Atargatis was brought forth from the naos into the *salle aux gradins* and there worshiped with dancing and orgiastic rites by the priests to the accompaniment of music from the worshipers. This again is appropriate enough for Atargatis, but seems strange in the case of Artemis. Here we are confronted with the fact that the *salle aux gradins* for the latter temple had been demolished. One explanation of this fact is that the Odeum was built to take its place, furnishing a larger theater. It is possible that the Odeum was used for the Boule of Dura. The name of a Bouleutes scratched on one of the seats (see below, p. 31), together with the fact that the inscription to Julia Domna set up by the Boule (D. 149) was found in the courtyard of this temple, gives support to the suggestion. But the occurrence of similar structures in connection with the temples is not to be lightly set aside. Cumont (p. 188) cites and illustrates one such, from Gerasa, and an even more pertinent parallel is that of the temple of the Syrian gods at Delos (*C.R.A.I.*, 1910, p. 289). There is no reason why our Odeum cannot have served both purposes, civil and religious. It is possible, on the other hand, that some modification of the ritual of Artemis took place after the Parthian period, but we have no evidence for it, aside from the fact that the steps were removed.

It is natural to look for parallels with the great temple of Atargatis at Hieropolis. In default of excavations, our knowledge of that building is necessarily vague, but from the account of Lucian (*De dea Syria, passim*) we can see that there were both likenesses and differences. The entrance to the temple area was to the north, though the temple doors faced east. This is the arrangement of the temple of Artemis; no propylaea for the temple of Atargatis have been found as yet. At Hieropolis the temple was not a single building, but contained within it a chamber to which only priests were admitted (Ἐνδοθεν δὲ ὁ νηὸς οὐκ ἀπλὸς ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ θάλαμος ἄλλος πεποιήται, C. 31). This is sufficiently appropriate to our temples and so, apparently, is the arrangement of shrines for other gods, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ νηῷ (C. 34) like the chapel of Aphrodite (Pl. IV, B in temple of Artemis) or the sanctuary with three pedestals (Pl. IV, 13). The mention of pillars at Hieropolis which were ascended periodically by holy men suggests a possible purpose for the Doric column found in the court of the temple of Atargatis at Dura. The legend that



the temple at Hieropolis was founded by Semiramis of Babylon may point to a Babylonian origin which would increase the likelihood of a Babylonian ground plan. Garstang's claim that the cult was largely Hittite (*The Hittite Empire*, pp. 303-306) would not affect this likelihood, for he has no Hittite original to suggest for the building itself and the goddess may have come to the Hittites from Babylon, or *vice versa*. The temple of Lucian's time was attributed to Stratonice, the wife of Seleucus Nicator, and was thus contemporary with the foundation of Dura.

Against these elements of similarity is the direct statement that the temple is like those of Ionia: εἶδος δὲ καὶ ἐργασίην ἔστιν ὁκοίους νηοὺς ἐν Ἰωνίῃ ποιεῖουσιν (C. 30), and the fact that the temple stood on a raised platform, with the inner sanctuary on another. Moreover, there is no mention of an open court in the center. Altogether, the plans can hardly have been identical, though they may have had important likenesses.

The temple of the Syrian gods at Delos, to which reference has already been made, offers little by way of comparison (see above, p. 12). Partly, perhaps, due to the nature of the ground on which it is situated, its shape is entirely different. There is, to be sure, an open court surrounded by small rooms, but not much can be made of that. It is worth remarking, however, that, as Roussel has pointed out (*Délos colonie athénienne*, p. 260, n. 6), there is close resemblance to the temple of Baalsamin at Si' to whose theatron Cumont refers (pp. 185, 188) for comparison with the *salle aux gradins* and the Odeum.

A further important analogy is that of the Syrian sanctuary on the Janiculum in Rome (Pl. VI, 2). A temple of the first century A.D. and another of the second were destroyed so thoroughly that we can trace no resemblance in them to our temples, but in the fourth century, presumably at the time of the pagan revival under Julian, a third sanctuary was built whose outlines are certainly suggestive of our arrangement. We have again a naos flanked by two small rooms and preceded by a chamber whose length is at right angles to the length of the building; access to this is again from a large court. The buildings with their relations to Hadad and Atargatis are discussed by Gauckler, *Le sanctuaire syrien du Janicule*.

This temple plan, then, has a continuous history from Babylonian times to the fourth century A.D. I have elsewhere pointed out instances of its influence on Christian architecture (*The Temples at Dura and Certain Early Churches*, Seminarium Kondakovianum, IV, 173-177).

## II. THE PRIESTS' HOUSE

BY A. NAUDY

This edifice is in form a rectangle about 36 m. by 38 m.; more than half of it was cleared this season: the entire northeast side and 26 m. of the southeast and northwest sides. It is contiguous to the two temples since it occupies the southeast part of the block where the sanctuary of Atargatis stands, which is bounded by the sacred way on the southwest. It is therefore a part of the unit formed by these sacred structures and bounded by four city streets; it completes the unit topographically. It is for this reason that the very location urged us to clear this house in the hope of being able to form some hypothesis as to its character.

1. *Description* (Pl. IV).

The house, which is very well preserved, is constructed, like most of the monuments of Dura, of rubble covered with plaster and of crude brick, the walls being indifferently composed of one of these materials or of both together; the thresholds, the pillars, and the lintels of the doors are made of good stone. The certain existence of an upper story explains the care and solidity of the construction.

One enters at the southeast by a door whose lintel has been found, very simply carved. This door must be the principal entrance and, indeed, the only one, because room I, a kind of shop opening on the northeast street, has no means of communication with the rest of the house, and it seems that the same thing was true, in the part not yet cleared, of the entrances opening on the sacred way near the Odeum.

Through the door one goes into a long vestibule (A) on whose walls are seen numerous and various graffito designs of animals (stag, lion), of people (archers, horsemen), or of objects (boat[?], city gate, walls). To the southwest two doors open that lead into the west part of the house, not yet dug, which seems to be clearly separated from the rest. Finally, the vestibule gives access to a second vestibule, small and rectangular, and thence to a court (B).

The court is for the most part surrounded by rooms of the house. At the southwest one notices a low niche surmounted by a bench; at the north a staircase with two flights of steps, analogous to that of the temple of Atargatis, led to the upper floor; it is composed of twelve steps with a landing between the fourth and fifth. In the court were found a stone mortar of the usual shape and a few vases.

From it open the various rooms, as may be seen by the plan; at the

west, one (Q) must have served as a bakery: in fact there were discovered here the remains of a kneading trough(?) and, beside them, the vestiges of a rounded receptacle like those which the inhabitants of the country still use to bake their bread. It is a circular tub buried in the earth; live coals are put into it to heat the walls on which the cakes of dough are then slapped.

Under the second flight of the staircase a passage gives access to a big room or court (O) on the floor of which were discovered thirty-nine lamps and numerous fragments of pottery. This room also preserves the most curious document that has been found in the building; it is part of a stele painted on the southeast wall. It measures 0.55 m. by 0.40 m., the base being about 0.60 m. above the floor level. The colors are brownish red, bright yellow, and golden, coarsely applied. It is in a bad state of preservation and one cannot determine the subject exactly. A person with abundant black hair (cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 115) is stretched out on a bed; to the left another person, smaller, seems to offer him something. Below and to the left one can distinguish the black hair of a third person and thymiateria(?), the remains of another picture of the stele (cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, Tableau VIII). The scene is surrounded by arabesques, more or less indistinct (leaves and fruit?).

The subject of the painting can be interpreted thanks to comparisons made with documents discovered at Dura and elsewhere; it must be the scene of a funerary repast, frequently found in Graeco-Roman antiquity. An almost identical scene appears in the temple of the Palmyrene gods (*op. cit.*, Tableau VII); the colors employed, the hair of the people, and the thymiaterion offer a close parallel. There is even a parallel, of attitude this time, with subject No. 5 on the frieze of Orthonobazus (*op. cit.*, Pl. LXXXVI) where an ephebus is stretched out and holds a cup. Finally, a Sassanian bas-relief of Shikofti Salman (Cl. Huart, *La Perse antique*, p. 250; fig. 34) offers us the same scene again.<sup>1</sup>

From room O one passes through a wide door preceded by a threshold to the last rooms to the northeast, inclosed by the exterior wall. In room K were discovered the remains of a staircase, a little votive animal, and a terra cotta medallion. Aside from the pottery, there were a few small finds: money, rings, and pins.

## 2. General Character of the Building.

The house described must have been one of the fine houses of the city, as attested by its imposing dimensions, its spacious rooms grouped

<sup>1</sup> See Addenda.



around one or two courts, and the certain existence of an upper story. It must not be forgotten that space was limited, Dura being fortified and shut in by its walls, and only the very rich could enjoy an extensive dwelling. It seems to us, however, that there is a difference between a house such as that which M. Cumont dug, belonging to a rich citizen, and the one under discussion. No precious object and no sculpture was found here; the lintel of the chief door, for example, has as its only ornament fillets and rectilinear moldings without rich decoration like that of the house on the main street (cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 248, 249). Therefore one is led to think of a great dwelling for priests and servants of the temple, more austere than a private house and decorated without ostentation. The character of the fresco discovered and the important bakery reinforce this opinion.

But the strongest argument is the proximity of this building to the temples; as we have remarked above, it is within the inclosure of the sacred buildings, and this close connection is scarcely reconcilable with a private house, particularly in a cult which was chiefly esoteric.

It is even suggested that we can show the existence of an ancient means of communication between the house of the priests and the temple of Atargatis,<sup>2</sup> in view of the presence of a door in the temple, now walled up, opening to the southwest, and considering the form of the little street, cut by sections of wall still visible, which look like the result of alterations in the walls of the temple. Two other hypotheses have been formulated: these little walls might be simply barriers like those which one finds in the oriental *sûks*, designed to keep out animals. But why should one find this arrangement, of which no trace is to be seen elsewhere in the town, in a place so sacred and so little open to passing and repassing? Finally it has been thought that these walls served as reinforcements for a vaulting over the alley; the house and the temple, in that case, would have been connected by an upper floor, and, indeed, there are the staircases still in evidence in both buildings. It appears, therefore, that of the likelier hypotheses two different ones suppose a passage between the sanctuary of Atargatis and the priests' house.

In the present state of the excavations we can say no more; aside from certain well-defined rooms, the particular function of each of the apartments of the house is not yet apparent. Not until we have a complete plan, made possible by the entire clearing of the southwest part, and new documents, can we attempt a final interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 34 f.

## III. DATES OF CONSTRUCTION

BY H. T. ROWELL

[Plate IV]

*The Temple of Artemis.*

The temple of Artemis as it stands today is the result of three successive periods of construction, the first of which comprises the inner sanctuary, that is, rooms C, C<sup>1</sup>, C<sub>1</sub>, and C<sub>2</sub>, chapels N and O, and the north part of R, an entrance anterior to the present one, E, and those chapels, S to Z, bounding the edifice on the north. On the south side remains of a wall can still be seen in the present courtyard which ran from the southeast corner of N through the north part of the present R, a later piece of building, to terminate against the temple house at the point marked (b) on the plan where it was broken through at the time of the second period of construction to make way for the street which now divides the sanctuary from the aforementioned house. The remains of this wall are 0.85 m. wide. Furthermore, one can plainly see on the plan the point where the west inclosing wall of the temple appears to suffer an indentation of 1.80 m. to the east before continuing southward. But that is mere appearance. In reality, the west wall of M is a later piece of construction which was joined to the south wall of N to extend the temple to the south during the second period of building, and during the first period this south wall of N formed part of the long wall that inclosed the south side of the entire sanctuary. The joining of this second period wall to that of the first was manipulated with great cunning but is none the less evident after a careful study of this part of the temple. Thus, to resume, we have as the south boundary of the first period of construction a wall 0.85 m. wide running west to east across the present courtyard from the south of N to the west wall of the temple house opposite.

The uniform level of the ground comprised within this first period of construction is from 0.60 m. to 0.70 m. below the level of the threshold of the temple (east part of E) and the street on which that threshold gives. Thus the monumental entrance E contains three steps leading down from the street to that part of the courtyard situated in front of the inner sanctuary. We must assign this entrance as it stands today to the second period of construction and the reasons for this will be discussed below. But such being the case, we can reasonably suppose that an entrance belonging to the first period stood on the same spot opposite the entrance to the inner sanctuary, the only suitable place for it.

Three valuable inscriptions help us to date with certainty parts of this first period of construction. At this time, room C, properly speaking the pronaos of the inner sanctuary,<sup>1</sup> existed in the form of a *salle aux gradins* generally comparable to that of the temple of Atargatis (6) which is still extant. Of these gradins, found used as paving blocks after the rearrangement of the room had been effected in the course of the second period of construction, the one bearing the earliest date and published by M. Cumont (*Fouilles*, Inscr. 57) brings us to the year 6 B.C. which we can take as approximate for the building of this part of the temple. The other two inscriptions, found during this season's excavations (D. 152, D. 164), assign the dedication of chapel U to 33 A.D. and that of V to 118, eighty-five years later. Accordingly, we may conclude that, as in the case of the temple of Atargatis, construction was begun with the pronaos and naos of the inner sanctuary and that the surrounding chapels or *oikoi* were added from time to time subsequently.

The second period of construction consists of an addition to the temple area on the south, the erection of the present monumental entrance E, the making over of C, and probably the construction of A and B, small edifices situated to each side of the entrance to C.

We know from an inscription (*Rep. II*, H. 2) that a severe earthquake shook Dura in the year 160 A.D. and a study of nearly all the buildings in the town shows plainly the resulting damage. To it, for example, we can attribute the weakening of the city walls in many spots which were consequently bolstered up by supports of crude brick. And soon after this disaster, a great battle was fought at Dura whose outcome caused the establishment of a new *régime*. For in 165 the Roman Emperor Lucius Verus drove the Parthians from the city and it became part, perhaps the most advanced outpost, of the imperial frontier in the Orient.

Now the temple of Artemis like the temple of Atargatis and the temple house must have suffered considerable damage caused by this earthquake and there is little doubt that the Romans, the new masters of the town, found it in a dilapidated condition. But such they did not leave it.

In the first place, the most important task to be undertaken, from the religious point of view, was the rehabilitation of the inner sanctuary. This the Romans carried out by removing the gradins from their sup-

<sup>1</sup> Editorial Note. Cumont also assumes that the inscriptions give the dates of erection of the various parts of the temples. For evidence that the buildings antedate the inscriptions, see pp. 19 ff. and 161.



ports, and using them to repave the room. Then, though we lack definite proof of this, it may be conjectured that they built A and B, small structures flanking the entrance to C. B is a chapel dedicated to Aphrodite which balances A, an edifice whose nature has remained unknown since its excavation by M. Cumont some years ago. But Mr. Alan Little of the 1930-31 staff has pointed out its resemblance to a tribunal extant at Pompeii which tends to assign it to a Roman period of construction. Add to this the dedication to Lucius Verus inscribed on a column found just before the entrance to C, and we can reasonably believe the entrance and its flanking structures to be Roman work.<sup>2</sup>

The part of the courtyard which lies between the main entrance and the inner sanctuary is paved with brick tiles 0.18 m. square whose nature is unmistakably Roman.

As has been already said, the main entrance to the temple of Artemis as it stands today has three steps which lead down from the threshold at the level of the present street to the level of the court within, 0.60 m. to 0.70 m. below. But was this street level, flush with the present threshold, always the same, or, more precisely, did it remain the same during the first and second periods of construction? To solve this problem a section of the street east of Q was excavated to the depth of the ground levels of the temples of Artemis and Atargatis and an earlier level was found on which the entrance of the first construction period must have given. At that time, we must remember, the alley between the temple house and the temple of Atargatis did not exist and the street itself was blocked at the south by the wall (b). Later, when the temple of Artemis was enlarged to the south, this wall was destroyed (remains of it are still evident) to permit a prolongation of the street southward at a level 0.60 m. to 0.70 m. above the one previous. Since we may reasonably suppose such a radical change in the level of a street to have been the result of the earthquake, much as it led to the creation of the passageway between the temple house and the temple of Atargatis (to be discussed fully below) we may equally hold the Romans responsible for the construction of the present entrance E designed to overcome the irregularity of levels between the temple and the street caused by the raising of the latter.

Having effaced the south inclosing wall of the first period of construction, the Romans proceeded to enlarge the temple to the south.

<sup>2</sup> See Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 177.

Their new south wall, running parallel to the previous one, though now fairly well obliterated as a result of the last period of building, has left us certain definite traces of its existence. The clearest of these run east from the south wall of M to a point just west of the colonnade before the Odeum. Here it disappears completely to reappear again in the north corner formed by the aforementioned colonnade and the east wall of the sanctuary. Its width is 1.35 m. Also, a distinct break can be seen in the west inclosing wall where that part of the wall which bounds K and Y, later additions, was joined to the earlier part bounding M.

This south inclosing wall of the second period of construction served also as the back for a series of chapels or *oikoi* which extended from east to west across the width of the temple court from south of R to M and whose remains can be plainly discerned in front of M. The north wall of these chapels runs six meters to the north of the south wall and is broken in spots to allow for doorways into the chapels. It must have been at the same period that R was enlarged southward since the south inclosing wall of the first period of construction ran through what is now almost its middle.

The so-called Odeum, H, the colonnade before it, chapels I, J, and K, and the open space lying in front of them, as well as Y, are the product of the third and final period of construction. To effect this addition, the south inclosing wall of the second period and the contiguous chapels to the north were razed to the ground.

From an inscription (D. 149) and from a graffito found in the course of the 1930-31 excavations scratched on one of the seats (Ζώλλος βουλευτής Δούρας) we can deduce that the building H, heretofore erroneously considered to be a small theater or Odeum, was in reality the Boule or *Curia* of the town, given the title and rights of a Roman colony by the Emperor Caracalla. Furthermore, an inscription (Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscr. 50) tells us that chapel I was erected by a small group of men who termed themselves Aurelioi, that is, who added the *gentilicium* of Caracalla to their original Semitic names. Thus we can conjecture that this third and last period of construction took place in the reign of that emperor when Dura was signally honored in the company of many other eastern cities.

To resume, then, we can date the three periods of construction of the temple of Artemis as follows:

I. 6 B.C. to 151 A.D. Dura under Parthian domination. Construction of C, C<sup>1</sup>, C<sub>1</sub>, and C<sub>2</sub>; of the north part of R; of Q, F, and of an entrance

on the site of the present E flush with the first street level; of S, S<sup>1</sup>, T, U, V, X, Z, O, and N; as well as of a south inclosing wall running from the south of N across to the temple house at (b).

II. 165 to *circa* 214 A.D. Roman domination. Construction of a new south inclosing wall running from the south of M to a point in the east inclosing wall directly opposite; of M and the chapels now obliterated which had that south inclosing wall for their back; prolongation of R to the south and making over of original E to meet the new and higher level of the street. Construction of A and B and rehabilitation of C.

III. *Circa* 214 A.D. Reign of Caracalla. Construction of the Odeum, H, and of I, J, K, and Y.

#### *The Pool.*

There is no way to date the pool which is situated three meters north of the remains of the south inclosing wall of the first period of construction. Its axis is slightly disoriented in relation to the rest of the temple and is truer to the magnetic points of the compass. The natural inclination would be to attribute it to one of the Roman periods of construction when its position would have been approximately a central one rather than to the first period in relation to which it would have been situated very asymmetrically.

#### *The Monumental Altar.*

Situated 1.80 m. south of the inner sanctuary, the position of this monumental altar cannot be harmoniously related to any of the inclosing walls of any period of construction. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that it was erected after the inner sanctuary when the choicest part of the sacred inclosure opposite the main entrance was already occupied. It would not have been unlike the Romans who first enlarged and embellished the temple under Verus, to have constructed it and the pool as a friendly gesture toward the Semitic element of the town's population, thereby uniting the two dominating religious tendencies flourishing at the time in one and the same shrine.

#### *The Rocks.*

Starting slightly to the southwest of the monumental altar and continuing around the inner sanctuary by the passageway that separates it from the west inclosing wall to a point south of chapel X are scattered rocks of red stone lying on the surface of the ground. Unworked, the



largest are about 1 m. high and 0.60 m. across, the smallest 0.20 m. by 0.30 m. We can hardly suppose that they were brought into the temple from elsewhere without a definite purpose which certainly could not have been to clutter up and disfigure the courtyard as they do at present. Rather, since they are of the kind of stone most commonly found beneath the ground level of the ancient city and their present disposition incloses the inner sanctuary of Artemis on all sides but that of the entrance, we may conjecture that they were removed from the present site of that sanctuary in the course of laying its foundations, but due to their unwieldy size, only removed as far as was absolutely necessary, that is, enough to one side so as not to interfere with the construction in progress. That they were not broken up and removed subsequently may seem very curious, nevertheless it is not the first example of such indifference to sightliness and order to be found at Dura.

### *The Temple House.*

The present edifice separated from the temple of Artemis on the west by a street and from that of Atargatis on the north by a small alley or passageway, unfortunately yielded no document of any sort in the course of its excavation by which we can assign a definite date to its construction. Nevertheless, we know that it was once contiguous to the temple of Atargatis for the proof of this can still be seen in the passageway that was subsequently made between the buildings.

The width of this passageway is 2.45 m. and its original level given us by remains of a drainage pipe corresponds with the level of the post-earthquake street which divides the temple of Artemis from the house and the temple of Atargatis, that is, 0.70 m. to 0.80 m. above the interior levels of the surrounding buildings. Digging below this about 0.75 m. we found the following:

At the eastern extremity of the passageway remains of a wall projecting 0.70 m. from the temple side.

2.75 m. farther toward the west, remains of another wall projecting 1.75 m. from the temple side.

3.20 m. to the west, remains of a second wall projecting 1.90 m. from the temple side.

8.80 m. west of this, a block of masonry extending 0.95 m. into the passageway from the temple side.

At the western extremity of this alley, remains of a wall projecting 1 m. from the house side.

How then shall we explain these extraordinary remains, some of which must have projected as far as 0.30 m. above the level of the passageway as given us by the drainage pipe?

To help us solve this problem, we must turn to the curious disposition of rooms 2 and 3 of the temple of Atargatis. As can be seen on the plan, they do not have the south inclosing wall of the temple as their back but are separated therefrom by a sort of blind alley, 1.45 m. wide, which is purposeless in appearance. In addition to this, let us note the traces of an ancient corridor leading through the west part of 3 from the central court of the temple to the south inclosing wall where its egress into the present alley has been walled up. Finally, this south inclosing wall is in very bad condition, especially on the temple side, while the wall just north of it which forms the back of 2 and 3 is in an excellent state of preservation.

Of the five remains of construction that partially block the passageway between the temple and the temple house, four are in direct alignment with walls within or forming the exterior of that house and in view of the supporting evidence, we may conclude that they once formed part of it. Thus, at one time, the present south wall of the temple was equally the north wall of the house and the two buildings communicated by means of a corridor running through the west part of the present 3. But the earthquake did considerable damage in this spot and when repairs were undertaken it was decided to separate the buildings by an alley the space for which was taken from the house. As a result, a new north wall was constructed for the house 2.45 m. south of the old one and the house walls which blocked the proposed alley were destroyed. It was not necessary, however, to raze them completely since the level of the alley was to be the same as that of the adjoining post-earthquake street, that is, 0.70 m. to 0.80 m. above the interior levels of the house and temples.

Since the old south wall of the temple had become badly distorted on the inner side and made an unsightly back to chapels 2 and 3, a new wall 1.45 m. to the north was built to screen it from view and to provide a suitable background for the aforementioned. Finally, with the separation of the buildings, the corridor in the west of 3 became useless and was destroyed while the space gained thereby was added to 3.

Such being the case, we can reasonably suppose that this house, contiguous to the temple and communicating with its main court by a corridor, was built at about the same period for the use of the temple priests,

a supposition given additional weight by the existence of a fresco within the house depicting a sacrifice.

From the house, three doors give on the street which separates it from the temple of Artemis. All three coincide with the second or high level of the street on the outside but on the inside the selfsame thresholds are from 0.70 m. to 1 m. above the level of the rooms into which they lead. We can deduce therefrom that these doorways were made after the earthquake to give on to the new street created between the house and the temple of Artemis which in reality can be considered a prolongation at a higher level of the original street to the north separating the two temples. As has been indicated above, this street originally terminated at the wall (b) before the earthquake, and there is no way of telling what originally occupied the site of the present prolongation and of the second and third periods of construction of the temple opposite. We must note, however, that in digging down below the present post-earthquake level at the south end of the street opposite the Odeum, a number of large jars were uncovered leaning against the wall of the house. It is possible, then, that we are here within the room of a contiguous house which was destroyed to make way for the street and the southern additions to the temple of Artemis.

To sum up, the temple house underwent two periods of construction. Built contiguous to the temple of Atargatis with which it communicated by means of a corridor, after the earthquake of 160 it was separated from the temple by the construction of a passageway the space for which was taken from the house. At the same time, doors were made in its west wall to give on the newly created street which divided it from the second-period addition to the south of the temple of Artemis.

#### *The Temple of Atargatis.*

Due to abundant epigraphical evidence, this sanctuary can be very well dated. It was begun by the construction of the naos, 6<sup>1</sup>, in the year 31 A.D. followed by the paving of the main court, a tile of which is inscribed with the year 54. In 61, the *salle aux gradins*, 6, was completed by the erection of the various steps or gradins which lend this room its unique aspect. Finally, it was not until 91 and 92 that the chapel flanking the main entrance on the south and the entrance itself, 1, were finished.

Thus it took forty-seven years to complete the edifice and we can presume that the chapels extending around the main court from the naos to



the entrance were built from time to time during that period much in the manner of the chapels flanking the north inclosing wall of the temple of Artemis of which U dates from 33 A.D. and V adjoining it from 118.

The earthquake did the greatest damage to the southeast part of the temple which was rehabilitated in the way already described in the section dealing with the temple house. We know from an inscription (D. 146), that the temple was in use as late as 235 A.D.

#### IV. NOTES ON SOME BUILDINGS

BY M. I. ROSTOVITZ

##### 1. *The Remains Outside of the Palmyrene Gate.*

In the *Second Report*, p. 9, will be found a description of a set of walls with complicated history. The most conspicuous part of it consists of a door-like frame blocked by a wall of reddish mud bricks originally perhaps covered with stucco (of which, however, neither M. Pillet nor I have seen any traces). The frame forms a part of a wall which starts from the north wall of the north tower. To the left and to the right of the door-like construction there are two niches. What has the aspect of an altar built of masonry and protruding from the brick wall is no doubt part of the rubbish which filled the space before the construction to a considerable height.

The construction has been explained as a kind of stele before which those who came to Dura performed some cult-acts, the image of a god or goddess being painted on the stuccoed surface of the brick wall. This explanation is probably erroneous. In the later period of Dura the supposed stele was not visible. It was buried under the rubbish which formed a kind of platform before the north tower which was supported by a sloping curious wall of mud bricks of the same reddish color which is characteristic of the wall which blocked the door-like construction mentioned above. The construction of this platform which was no doubt intended for protecting the base of the tower has been explained above. The purpose of this note is to emphasize that the door-like construction is certainly a real door, excellently built of square stones with a well-carved lintel on the top. It led into a room which occupied the corner between the tower and the city wall. The room has not been excavated yet, but it certainly deserves to be cleared.

The two niches which were built in the curious two walls to the right

and to the left of the door formed a kind of pronaos to it. On one of the square stones of which the left pillar of the door is built there are two inscriptions cut into the stone. The inscriptions will be published in our next report by Mr. Alan Little who was the first to notice them. In studying these inscriptions I found beside the two engraved texts two more scratched between the letters of the monumental inscription. One reads as follows: Μν(ησοθη) Ἀδδαῖος (Addaios is a well-known Semitic name which occurs many times at Dura). The other is very faint, but legible: ΔΙΦ, i.e., 514 which represents the date 202 A.D.

The date of the graffito is important since it shows that the radical change of the aspect of the desert face of the north tower and the connected part of the city wall certainly took place after 202, i.e., in the third century A.D., and has nothing to do with the earthquake of 160 A.D. I cannot dwell here upon the history of the brick constructions of late date outside and inside of the city wall. Suffice it to say that my careful study of these constructions shows that they are of a very late date and represent hasty constructions made at a time of great danger not before the second half of the third century A.D.

What were the use and the date of the room in the corner between the north tower and the city wall cannot be ascertained without supplementary excavations. The room is connected with the gate, and the natural suggestion would be to regard it as a room for the guards or one for the customs officers or both.

## 2. *The So-called Customs House of Dura.*

Above, p. 13, M. Pillet has described summarily an interesting building which has been excavated not far from the Palmyrene Gate on the north side of the main street of Dura, i.e., the street which runs from this gate to the citadel. It is evident that the room is not one of a private house, but that it formed a part of a public building. M. Pillet tentatively gave to the building the name of customs house.

The description of the room (see map, Pl. VII, and photographs, Pl. VIII; the map has been made by Mr. Alan Little) is as follows. It is a square room with an entrance from the main street. Two levels at least are noticeable. In the earlier period the entrance door from the street was built on the east end of the street wall. In the west end of the opposite wall another door of the same type led into some rooms behind the temple which have not been excavated. At this earlier period the room was paved with stone slabs. Not quite in the center of the back wall a

curious stele-like pillar of masonry protrudes from the surface of the wall. This pillar probably formed a kind of stele. The lower extant part of the pillar is covered with stucco.

In the Roman period the room was entirely rebuilt. The level was raised. Three monumental doors were made in the front wall. The central door was flanked by two heavy and high columns. The side door of the earlier building was retained. Thus the room at this period was accessible from the street by means of four doors. Four heavy square pillars of masonry were built inside of the room. They probably supported a dome of masonry or brick. For a flat roof they are too heavy. If so the space between the pillars and the walls must have been covered by semi-cylindrical vaults. I may note in addition that in the last period of Dura's existence the two side doors were blocked up. On the front sides of the two front pillars I noticed the existence of two pedestals. That of the east pillar is wider, that of the west more narrow. At the east pillar stood probably the stone altar originally covered with stucco which was found in the room on the Roman level. Before the west pillar stood a similar altar also covered with stucco and no doubt engaged like the first into the masonry of the pillar. Doubtless both altars bore originally painted dedications.

The stele of the back wall was not destroyed. It was kept intact though its situation did not harmonize with the four pillars of the room. There were probably some reasons for retaining the pillar. It seems probable that the back door was retained also.

The facts as explained above show that the room cannot have been a customs house. It was no doubt a temple. It is probable that it had this character both in pre-Roman and Roman times. The image of the god or goddess of the temple was probably painted on the pillar of the back wall. The altars of the later period bore dedications to the god of the temple.

Was it the temple of the Tyche of Dura? It is known and I have pointed it out in the *First Report* that the first covered room of the Palmyrene Gate, especially its south wall, was dedicated to the city-goddess of Dura. Carved and painted dedications to the goddess cover the first five or six courses of the stone slabs, of which the gate was built. The upper part of the wall was covered with stucco and painted. The stucco is still intact on the lower portion of the space which was occupied by the painting in the east corner of the wall. One sees a pair of naked legs, presumably of a god. I have described in the *First Report* the re-



mains of a crown painted on the pillar which separates the sacred room from the propylon on the city side of the gate.

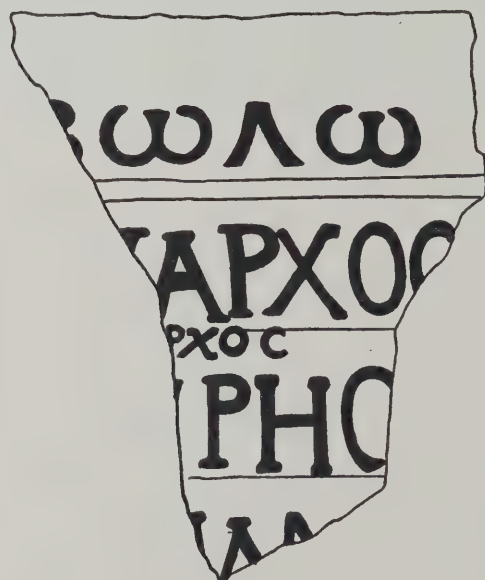
However, the gate was not the house where the goddess had her residence. Some sacred objects were of course found in the towers, but the towers had not the form of sanctuaries. The house of the goddess was elsewhere, probably not far from the gate. The natural suggestion is that it was the temple described above. We must not forget that in the adjoining private house which occupied the space between the temple and the gate was found the treasure of silver coins and jewels which was published in our *Second Report*. I may mention in addition that the Roman bath opposite the temple had its own Tyche, the Μεγάλη Τύχη τοῦ βαλανίου according to the inscription of the mosaic floor of the tepidarium recently discovered by M. Naudy. I therefore suggest that we recognize in the square room described above the sanctuary of the city-goddess of Dura which existed on the same spot before the Romans, and was rebuilt by them after the occupation of the place by the troops of Lucius Verus.

### III INSCRIPTIONS

#### I. THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

BY H. T. ROWELL AND A. R. BELLINGER

D. 143. Triangular fragment of white stone. Length 0.093 m., height 0.11 m. Height of letters: first line, 0.012 m.; second line, 0.016 m.; third line, 0.005 m. Found, November 8, on the desert at a considerable distance outside the city walls to the west. There is no monument in the vicinity from which it could have come; it was probably part of some



ΙΑΡΕΙ]ΒΩΛΩ  
ΝΕΙ]ΚΑΡΧΟΟ  
ΡΧΟΟ  
ΠΤΕ]ΡΗΟ

monument within the city. The cutting is rough and the workman has guided himself by rulings scratched, not quite regularly, across the stone. It appears that the inscription was intended to be in lines of letters of approximately the same height, with nearly equal intervals between the lines, but that the stonecutter, having left out a word by mistake (doubtless because of the like endings) later supplied it in small letters in what is now line 3. The form of the letters is much like those of the painted inscription on Tableau I, of the temple of the Palmyrene gods (Cumont, 5), and of the painted inscription in the temple of Atar-

gatis (p. 46, below). The only letter of particular characteristics is the  $\omega$  which had this same form in all the painted inscriptions. The earliest of these are dated about 75 A.D., the later, between 164 and the middle of the third century (Cumont, pp. 141 ff.); that from the temple of Atargatis is dated 225 or 235 A.D. As this inscription shows the presence of a contingent of the Roman army, it is impossible to connect it with the earlier paintings, but, on the evidence of the form of the letters, it may belong either to the second century or to the third. We have not yet, however, sufficient material from Dura to speak with much confidence of inscriptions other than those cut in the square alphabet of the steps.

L. 1.  $\text{Ἰαρειβῶλω}$ . A member of the great triad of deities worshiped at Palmyra and Dura, composed of Bel, Aglibol, and Iarhibol (Cumont,<sup>1</sup> 10 and 12; pp. 40, 103, 104 ff., 131, 132 ff., 369). An altar found at Dura near the entrance to the temple of the Palmyrene gods is dedicated to this divinity by a Roman tribune named Scribonius. (*Rep. II*, H. 3, pp. 90 ff.) In the graffito published by Cumont (p. 369), the name is  $\text{Ἰαρειβῶλω}$ , but, on the altar of Scribonius, it is more appropriately transliterated  $\text{Ἰαρειβῶλω}$ , and we assume that the name had this form in our inscription. Within the temple proper is a fresco depicting a Roman tribune sacrificing to the gods (Tableau VI, Cumont, pp. 89 ff.), and it is probable that our inscription was originally placed there or in the vicinity. If it be assumed that the dedication was to Iarhibol alone, we arrive at a general idea of the original width of the stone, *ca.* 0.20 m., and, with the further assumption that the inscription was intended to be symmetrical, we may attempt its restoration.

L. 2.  $\text{Νεῖ]καρχος}$ . This seems to be the only possible completion of the name, which is clearly that of the dedicator. The name is regularly spelled with  $\epsilon$  for  $\iota$  in inscriptions of this time (e.g., *I.G.R.R.*, III, 640; IV, 1087). This would leave a short unfilled space to the left which might be filled by the restoration of some Roman *gentilicium*, abbreviated, such as  $\text{Αὐρ}$ . The officers even of an auxiliary cohort would be Roman citizens.

L. 3.  $\text{- - ρχος}$ . This would naturally be either  $\text{ἐπαρχος}$  (*praefectus*) or  $\text{χιλιάρχος}$  (*tribunus*) depending on whether the  $\text{σπειρή}$  of line 4 was a *cohors quingenaria* or a *cohors miliaria*. In either case symmetry was sacrificed unless there was another word in the interpolated line, and no word seems either necessary or appropriate between the man's name and

<sup>1</sup> The references in Cumont are to the number of the inscriptions.



his title. It is possible, however, that the title was *ἐκατόνταρχος*. The mention of centurions assigned to cohorts, without specification of the century, is shown not only by Acts 10.1 but in epigraphical evidence; e.g., *ἐκατοντάρχου σπείρης πρώτης Φλαουίας Κιλίκων ἱππικῆς* (*I.G.R.R.*, I, 1255, l. 7).

L. 4. σπε]ίρης. The ι is not certain: it might be an η—μ or ν before ρ need not be considered—but the restoration is so reasonable as to be almost sure. But it presents one serious difficulty. Judging from the width of the letters preserved, the word σπείρης would occupy 0.115 m. But, by the same calculation *Ἱαριβώλφ* would take 0.16 m. As the two lines end together they must begin together if symmetry was observed. That leaves about 0.045 m. of line 4 unaccounted for. The number of the cohort would, of course, fill this space very conveniently, but there is no case where the numeral stands in such a position. If the restoration is correct we have to assume, either that the ignorance of the stonecutter led him to put the number where it did not belong, or that the lines were not symmetrical, or that there was marked irregularity in the width and placing of the letters.

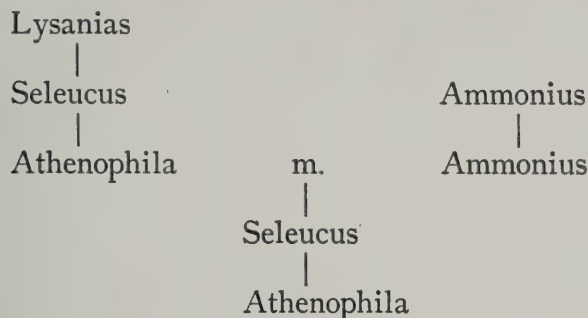
L. 5. - - : ιαν. The α and ν are reasonably sure: the ι is doubtful: the letter might be μ or ν. This would presumably be the name of the cohort, and the most natural suggestion is *Ἀντωνιν]ιαν*[ῆς which would mean that the unit was one of the auxiliary cohorts of the time of Caracalla. None of the recorded names of Roman cohorts which might have been in this vicinity seems to offer a satisfactory reconstruction. (Cf. the list of Cichorius in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *cohors*, revised by G. L. Cheeseman, *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army*, Oxford, 1914.) In another inscription from Dura (Cumont, 3) we find mention of a *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* in the year 230 A.D.

D. 144. In eight fragments of stone. Length, 0.62 m.; height, 0.21 m.; height of letters, uneven: between 0.02 m. and 0.03 m. Found, November 14, in the temple of Atargatis, in the central court among the *débris* southeast of the door leading into the *salle aux gradins*. Cut in the square alphabet of the steps (Π for M).

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΗΠ[Τ ΣΕΛΕΥ]ΚΟΣ ΑΠΠΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ  
ΑΠΠΩΝΙΟΥ [ΑΒΗΝΟΦΙ]ΛΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ  
ΒΥΓΑΤΕ[ΡΑ

L. 1. ηπ[τ'. 388, Macedonian Era = 76 A.D. The τ is restored on the following basis: in an inscription dated 61 A.D. and published by Cu-

mont (108) an Ammonius, son of Ammonius, is mentioned as the husband of Athenophila, the daughter of Seleucus, son of Lysanias. The Athenophila of our inscription is probably the former Athenophila's granddaughter, although their inscriptions are only 15 years apart. Nevertheless, since the first Athenophila appears in 61 as a married woman, it is much more probable that she had a grandchild 15 years later than 115, which would result from the restoration of υ instead of τ. The known members of the family are then related as follows:



D. 145. Incised upon the front of an altar of local limestone, found, November 14, in the temple of Atargatis, in the central court, to the

ΜΕΛ  
ΟC ΠΡ  
C ΒΕΥ  
ΗC CΕΒΑC  
ΤΟΥ ΑΤΑΡΑΓΑ  
ΤΙ ΔΙ

ΓΕ]ΜΕΛ  
Λ]ΟC ΠΡ  
Ε]CΒΕΥ[Τ  
ΗC CΕΒΑC  
ΤΟΥ ΑΤΑΡΑΓΑ  
ΤΙΔΙ

southeast of the door leading into the *salle aux gradins*. Width, 0.39 m.; height, 0.60 m.; height of letters, 0.06 m. It stands in a little niche with a companion altar which is not inscribed. The stone had been severely cracked after its erection and repaired at the edges with thick plaster, after which it was covered with another layer of plaster which obliterated the inscription. There are still traces of red paint in the letters, which are well cut and identical in execution with those of Cumont, 51. (Pl. IX, 1.)

Ll. 1, 2. Γέ]μελλος. He is the same Gemellus, *legatus Augusti*, who appears in the dedication of a pedestal to Artemis found within her sanctuary at Dura and published by Cumont (51). Indeed, comparison of the inscriptions leaves no doubt that they were simultaneous dedications cut by the same hand. Of Gemellus himself we unfortunately know nothing directly, but we are in a position to draw some conclusions as to his date from the condition of the niche in which the altar stands. The layer of plaster which covers its face runs unbroken over its sides and extends above the altar on the side and back walls of the niche, the first of which shows a red stripe, vertical, in the corner, and another, horizontal, at the side. The whole back wall, as much of it as is now left, seems to have been painted red. But there is another layer of plaster, found still *in situ* in some places, clearly distinguishable by its finer texture and whiter color, on which were painted frescoes and the inscription next discussed, which is dated 225 or 235 A.D. Between the placing of the altar, then, and this date, there were two restorations of the niche. Now the present appearance of the stone clearly shows that the damage to it was caused by weather. The face is cracked and warped in the fashion of the local stone that has stood exposed. As the plaster would have protected it, this must have happened before the first restoration, which, therefore, was at an appreciable time after it was set up, even allowing for the material's tendency to rapid decay. Again, since the first restoration included a painted wall, it is reasonable to suppose that some time would have elapsed before it was hidden. Cumont's hypothesis (p. liii) that Dura was first occupied by Roman troops under Lucius Verus in 165 is eminently reasonable, as all the evidence shows, so that we may safely take that as the earliest date for the possible presence of a *legatus Augusti* in the city. Now an interval of 60 or 70 years would fit the conditions of our two restorations very well, and we may therefore suggest that the dedications of Gemellus mark the beginning of the Roman occupation. An inscription found by Cumont (53, p. 410)



is a dedication to Verus by Heliodorus, the *Epistates*, doubtless an honor accorded him to celebrate his triumph over the Parthians before the walls of Dura. Now the office of *Epistates* seems to have been in existence in 136 during the Parthian *régime* (Cumont, 134; *Rep. I*, p. 52). We may therefore suppose that the *Epistates* was the official in charge of the city at the time of the Roman occupation, who made this acknowledgment to the conqueror, and was rewarded with citizenship, as his name, Aurelius, shows. But the office appears no more thereafter, and the natural conclusion is that it was discontinued. Perhaps the Emperor directed the *legatus Augusti* to organize the city, and his first act was to pay his respects to the two great goddesses of Dura.<sup>2</sup>

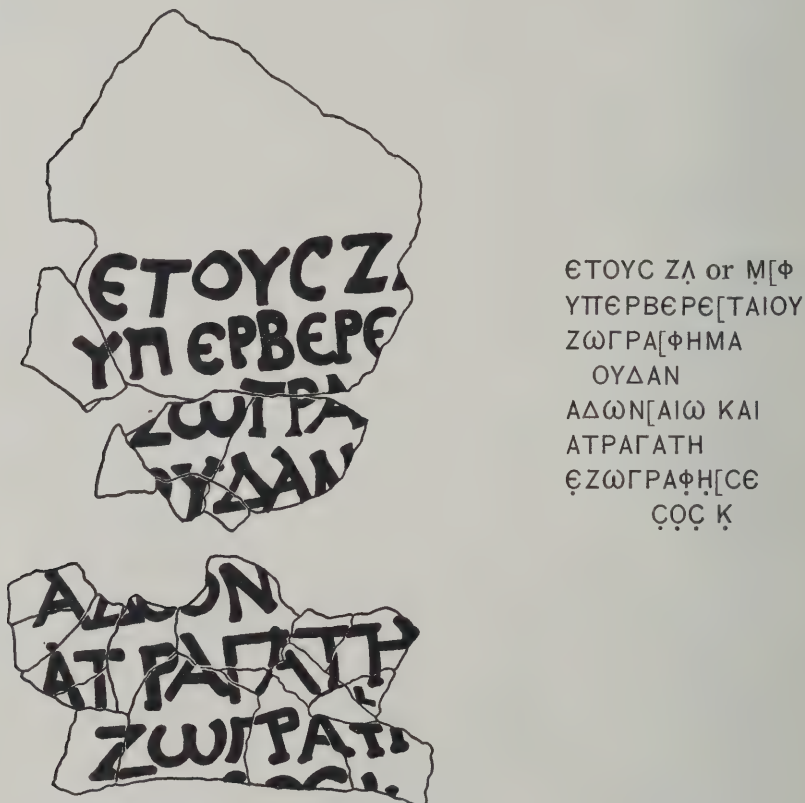
Ll. 2-5. πρ[ε]σβευ[τ]ῆς Σεβαστοῦ. To this title is regularly added the word ἀντιστράτηγος, that is, *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, and it may be assumed that this is merely an abbreviation of the usual formula. In an inscription from Ligurio, in Argolis (*I.G.*, IV, 912), the restoration assumes that the word ἀντιστράτηγος did not appear, though Regulus, who is there honored, was, in fact, *legatus pro praetore*. Although there are other cases where a distinction seems to be shown, they are probably more apparent than real; e.g., in *C.I.G.* 3532, from Cyme, a certain Quadratus is honored who was, among other things, πρεσβευτῆς Πόντου καὶ Βιθυνίας, but *C.I.G.* 3548, from Pergamum, is another honorary inscription to the same man, who is described as πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος [Πόντου] καὶ Βιθυνίας. Many other occurrences of the title from the eastern provinces are gathered in Magie, *De Romanorum Iuris Publici Sacrique Vocabulis Sollemnibus in Graecum Sermonem Conversis* (Leipzig, 1905).

Ll. 5-6. Ἀταραγάτιδι. The great Syrian goddess ʿתרעתה. Torrey (*Rep. I*, p. 146) and Cumont (pp. 361, 362) have already remarked on the representation of the second ʾ (ʿain) by *gamma*, but here the *gamma* is preceded by an *alpha* of which there is no indication in the Semitic name. This form, from a nominative Ἀταραγάτις is otherwise unknown. Elsewhere the transliterated name generally takes the form Ἀταργάτις (e.g., Strabo, XVI, 748). She is one of the most ancient Semitic deities, known commonly to the Roman world as the Dea Syria, whose famous shrine at Hieropolis has been described by Lucian, Περὶ τῆς Συρίας Θεοῦ. (See pp. 100 ff., below.) She appears elsewhere in Greek inscriptions, from Delos (*B.C.H.*, VI, p. 498, Nos. 17-21; Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>8</sup>, p. 135), Astypalaea (*I.G.*, XII, 3, 188—where the form Ἀταργάτειτι seems

<sup>2</sup> See Addenda.

to be an attempt to decline the name after the manner of our inscription), Smyrna (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 997), Palmyra (Waddington, 2588, p. 596), and Nimr in Arabia (*I.G.R.R.*, III, 1250). She is portrayed on coins from Hieropolis and Palmyra (*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., pp. 144-146 and 149, 150). This is the first time we encounter her name at Dura, although Cumont (p. 126, n. 2) had already deduced her presence there. Her sanctuary, excavated in the course of this season's work, is one of the most important buildings in the city (cf. pp. 35 f., above).

D. 146. Found, November 23, in twenty-two pieces painted in red letters (height 0.03 m.) upon plaster among the *débris* resting on the top



of the altar of Gemellus in the temple of Atargatis. The pieces fit together to form two separate groups, one of seven pieces, the other of fifteen. There is no join between the groups, but both content and form

indicate that they are parts of the same inscription. As already mentioned, they were on the plaster which belongs to the second restoration of the niche after the inscription of Gemellus was cut. (Pl. IX, 2.)

L. 1. ζλ[φ' or ζμ[φ'. Enough of the second letter is left to show that it must have been either λ or μ. This gives us either 37 or 47 of the Macedonian Era, with the century to be supplied. Translating into the Christian Era, the possibilities are 25 or 35, 125 or 135, 225 or 235, 325 or 335, and so on. The first two pairs, or any earlier date, are out of the question because the inscription must be later in time than another (D. 145) which speaks of a Roman official in the town, and, until we have definite evidence to the contrary, we must adhere to the hypothesis that the first entry of the Romans was not earlier than 165. The last pair, or any later date, is excluded by the fact that we have every reason to believe that the town was destroyed by the Sassanians not long after 256, which is the latest date the coins give us. We are, therefore, reduced to 225 or 235 and may certainly restore λφ or μφ.

L. 2. Ὑπερβερε[ταίου. To this may, of course, have been added the day of the month, which would somewhat increase the number of letters. Unfortunately, in no case do we have the end of the line, and, as the beginnings are not exactly aligned, and the letters are not *stoichedon*, we can only get a very general idea of the length of the line—somewhere around 0.25 m. This writing of the date in two lines, however, gives us reason to assume that they are normally short, and that we have then little to supply at the end. It is certain that the date begins the inscription, since the pieces which bear it are large enough to show some of the plaster above, with two dark irregular blotches which must have belonged to the picture and leave no room for more words.

L. 3. Ζωγράφημα or Ζωγρα[φίαν. This is the most likely restoration. The possibility of the word being a part of the verb, such as the participle, is practically eliminated by the fact that the verb appears in line 7. There is the chance that it might be Ζώγραφος, in which case line 4 would be the name of the artist, but, in that case, the object of the verb—that is, the thing dedicated to the divinities—would have to be supplied from the lost parts of the inscription. Moreover, the analogy of the other painted inscription similar to this (Cumont, 6 c., p. 362) is in favor of an accusative here and not a nominative: Ἀπολλοφάνην Ἀθηνοδώρου τοῦ Ζηνοδότου καὶ Ζηνόδοτον τὸν ἐξάδελφον αὐτοῦ Ἰλάσαμος ἔγραφε. It is tantalizing to come so near to the recovery of another ancient picture and



to have so little idea of its subject or nature. The fragments of the painting found in the vicinity of the inscription were so small as to make any attempt to restore it hopeless. We can only state that the colors used, still, in many cases, remarkably fresh when found, indicate a painting of the same quality as the best of those in the temple of the Palmyrene gods.

L. 4. οὐδαν. The first conjecture was τ]οῦ Δαν[ύμου. There is room for a letter before ο, and the name Danymos would just about fill the line. The name is already familiar in Dura (Cumont, 59, 61, 62, 70, 90, 113) though none of the men recorded is of late enough date to be identified with this person. However, the frequent occurrence of the name in the dedicatory inscriptions of the temple of Artemis would make it natural to find it commemorated in the temple of Atargatis as well. But there is one important objection to this restoration. Nowhere else in Dura do we find this use of the article. It sometimes, but not always, stands before the father's name, and regularly before the grandfather's, as in the inscription just quoted from Cumont. We must, then, either assume that this is a unique exception to the general rule or abandon Danymos. It seems safer to choose the latter course and suppose that - - οὐδαν - - is part of a Semitic or Iranian proper name.

As remarked above, there is no join between line 4 and line 5 and it may be that one or more lines have dropped out. But, in view of the fact that none of the plaster can have been removed since it fell, and considering the extreme care with which every piece was examined for traces of inscription, it is hard to believe that much has been lost. One would expect no more than a phrase like τοῖς θεοῖς or some epithet referring to the divinities and no interpolation is essential to the meaning.

L. 5. 'Αδων. The possibility of restoring 'Αδών[ιδι is, of course, apparent, but we have no evidence, either that Adonis was ever worshiped in conjunction with Atargatis, or that he ever appeared at Dura. In view of the discovery near by of the relief showing Atargatis and Hadad side by side, it is more probable that the word was 'Αδων[αίω (𐤀𐤁𐤍) which, being the general term for "Lord" would here designate Hadad, the customary consort of Atargatis.

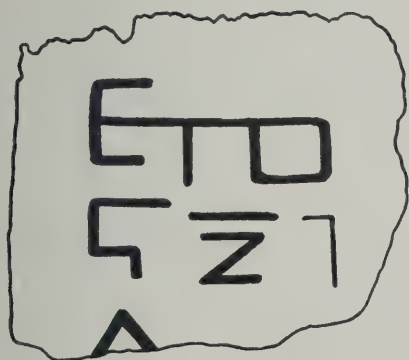
L. 6. 'Ατραγάτη. This is another unusual transliteration. The nominative in η is closer to the Semitic original than that in ις. On the other hand, the transposition of ρα for αρ is curious. Professor Harmon points to the suggestive analogy of 'Αρταφέρνης for Artaphrenes: this may be

an indication, though a slight one, that the painter was Greek rather than Semitic.

L. 7. Ἐζωγράφη[σε or [σαν. The ε is certain, though only the upper tip of it remains. The number of the verb would be singular or plural according to whether there were two names or one below it. Γράφω is certainly the more common word, and, as we have seen, ἔγραφε is used for another picture which consisted of portraits, as we assume this to have done. Ζωγραφέω has a slightly pedantic air, but we are not justified in supposing that there was any technical distinction between the pictures. The construction of this verb with dependent datives, as though it were ἀνέθηκε, is unusual, but creates no difficulty.

L. 8. The tops of four letters only are left, which may be restored as COCK, though this is by no means certain. Presumably it is all that is left of the artist's signature. Possibly there were two painters and we should restore -COC K[AI

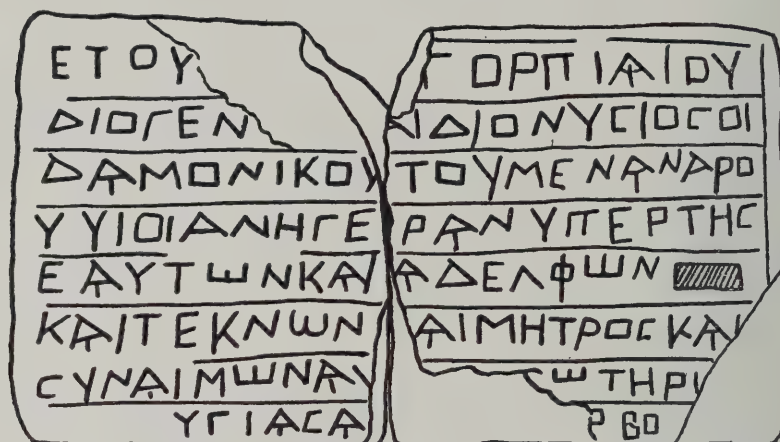
D. 147. Found, December 2, in the temple of Atargatis, south of the *salle aux gradins*. A fragment of tile, 0.18 m. by 0.19 m. by 0.045 m. Judging from other tiles, similar in form, but uninscribed, it was 0.24 m. square when intact. It was not found in place and there was no evidence to show in what part of the building it had been used. Height of letters 0.03 m. to 0.04 m.



ΕΤΟΥC  
ΖΕΤ  
Δ[ίου or [ύστρου

L. 2. 547. 366, Macedonian Era = 54 A.D. It is interesting to have a tile definitely dated before the period of Roman occupation. Cf. D. 163, below.

D. 148. Found, December 2, near D. 147 in the temple of Atargatis. Incised upon a single stone now broken unevenly in the middle so as to form two distinct fragments. Length, 0.45 m., height, 0.25 m., height of letters, 0.03 m.



ΕΤΟΥΣ            ΓΟΡΡΙΑΙΟΥ  
ΔΙΟΓΕΝ[ΗΣ Κ]ΑΙ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΟΙ  
ΔΑΜΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟ  
Υ ΥΙΟΙ ΑΝΗΓΕΙΡΑΝ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ  
ΕΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ  
ΣΥΝΑΙΜΩΝ ΑΥ[ΤΩΝ] ΣΩΤΗΡΙ[ΑΚ]  
ΚΑΙ] ΥΓΙΑΣ Α[ΥΤΩΝ] ΡΒΘ

L. 2. Διογένης. A familiar name at Dura (Cumont, 5d, 21, 41, 42). We cannot, however, identify this Diogenes with any of the others known to us. Διονύσιος. Cf. D. 159. This is the only other place at Dura where the name occurs.

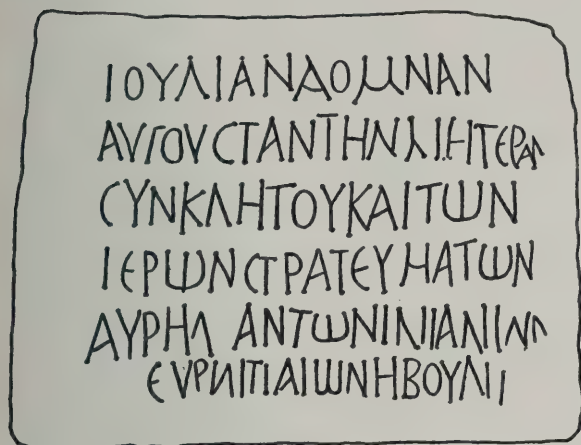
L. 3. Δαμονίκου and Μενάνδρου. Otherwise unknown.

L. 8. ὑγίας. For the late form ὑγείας by a vocalic change common at this period; the substitution of ι for the diphthong ει. For other examples of this form cf. D. 161, and *I.G.R.R.*, III, 733, 1.

ΡΒΘ. All letters are doubtful. One would expect the name of the divinity here, but there seems to be no satisfactory restoration.



D. 149. Inscribed upon a single block of stone; length, 0.63 m., height, 0.49 m., thickness, 0.15 m., height of letters, 0.09 m. Traces of red paint in the lettering still visible. Presumably part of a statue base. Found, December 6, in the main court of the temple of Artemis, near the staircase (cf. above, p. 23), face down. (Pl. X, 1.)



ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ ΔΟΜΝΑΝ  
ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΜΗΤΕΡΑ  
ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ  
ΙΕΡΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ  
ΑΥΡΗ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΙΑΝΩΝ  
ΕΥΡΩΠΑΙΩΝ Η ΒΟΥΛΗ

L. 1. 'Ιουλίαν Δόμναν. Wife of the Emperor Septimius Severus. She died in 217 which is therefore the last possible date for the inscription.

L. 2. Αὐγοῦσταν. A transliteration of the Latin "Augusta," rare in pre-Byzantine times, which is, however, occasionally found both on inscriptions and coins (e.g., 'Ιουλίαν Αὐγοῦσταν Σεβ(αστήν) --- ἡ μητρόπολις --- ἀνωθε τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων) from Nicomedia, Bithynia (*I.G.R.R.*, III, 6), and a coin of Julia Domna struck at Laodicea, Seleucia (*B.M.C.*, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria, p. 258, Nos. 81, 82). The customary Greek rendering of the title is Σεβαστή, and Julia acquired it on her husband's accession to power in 198.

Ll. 2-4. τὴν μητέρα συνκλήτου καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν στρατευμάτων. Among Julia Domna's official titles were "Mater Senatus" and "Mater Castrorum." The latter appears frequently in Greek inscriptions and is usually rendered μήτηρ κάστρων. We also find, however, μήτηρ στρατοπέδων (*I.G.R.R.*, IV, 132, 468 and III, 6, 977) μήτηρ τῶν ἱερῶν κάστρων (*I.G.R.R.*, III, 806) and μήτηρ ἀνικήτων στρατοπέδων (*I.G.R.R.*, I, 1067). Her title "Mater Senatus" appears rarely in Greek inscriptions. The best parallel

to ours is *I.G.R.R.*, I, 577, 578: μήτηρ ἱερῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ συνκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων.

Ll. 5, 6. Αὐρηλ(ιανῶν) Ἀντωνινιανῶν Εὐρωπαϊῶν. This gives the official Roman title of the city, and, since it bears the name of the Emperor Caracalla, who appears in the documents as M. Aurelius Antoninus, it raises a very strong presumption that Dura received the colonial status from him, as conjectured by Cumont (50, note 2). In any event, the inscription is not earlier than 212, the date of his accession.<sup>3</sup>

It was in the fall of 215 that Caracalla arrived in the East to undertake his expedition against the Parthians. In that year, the city of Emisa issued coins stamped ΕΜΙΣΩΝ ΚΟΛΩΝΙΑC (*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., pp. 238 f.), and in 216 we find Edessa styling itself ΑΥ(ρηλία) ΑΝ(τωνεινιανή) ΕΔΕCCA on its currency (*B.M.C.*, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia, pp. 97 f. It is possible that coins reading ΚΟΛ[ώνια] from Edessa are also to be attributed to Caracalla, but the point is doubtful [*ibid.*, p. civ]. Edessa may be regarded, like Dura, as a case where the colonial status is inferred from the assumption of the Emperor's name). We know too (Digest, L. 15, 8, 5) that Caracalla conferred the colonial status upon Antioch, and coins from Carrhae inscribed COL MET ANTONINIANA AVR. (*B.M.C.* Arabia, etc., pp. 85 ff.) indicate that the city received the title of Metropolis from this emperor; it had already been made a colony by Septimius Severus.

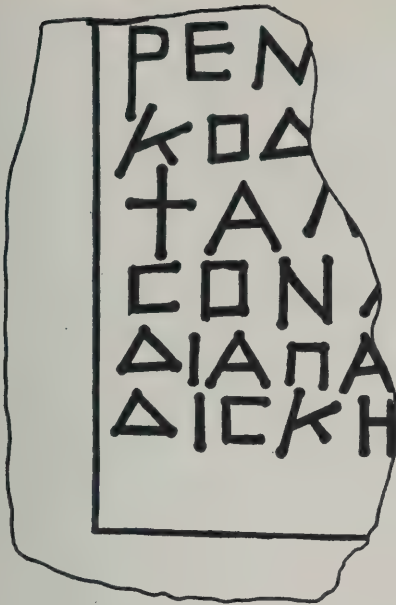
Thus we have plentiful evidence of the generous manner in which Caracalla distributed colonial titles to the cities of the East which could be of use to him at the time of his expedition, and it is to the same period that we should assign the grant of colonial status to Dura.

The inscription increases the probability that κόλων (Cumont, 50) means "citizen of a Roman colony" and not technically "Colonus" (cf. Cumont, pp. 406-408).

L. 6. ἡ βουλὴ. The existence of a Boule was already known from the mention of Bouleutai (Cumont, 9 C, 50).

D. 150. Fragment of stone. Height, 0.21 m.; length, 0.12 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m. Found in the north part of the court of the temple of Artemis, December 10.

<sup>3</sup> It is perhaps significant that this dedication is to Julia instead of to Caracalla. Her influence over her son is well known, so also is her great partiality for things Syrian. It may be that the Boule is here returning thanks for the benefit of the colonial status which was due to her suggestion.



[ΑΝΗΓΕΙ  
ΡΕΝ[ΤΗΝΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΟΙ  
ΚΟΔ[ΟΜΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑC  
ΨΑΛ[ΙΔΑC  
CΟΝΑ  
ΔΙΑΠΑ  
ΔΙCΚΗ

The partial restoration is on the basis of comparison with D. 152, below.

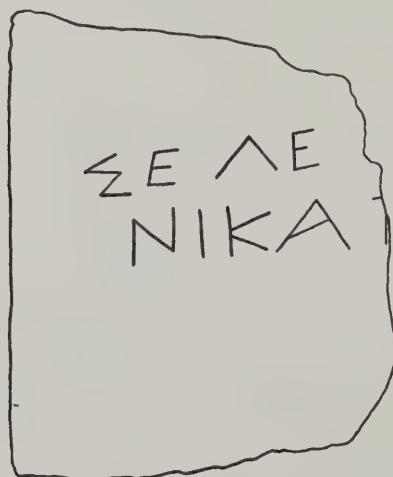
Ll. 2-3. Οἰκοδομήν. One of the rooms or chapels which surrounded the main court of the temple of Artemis, which, like the adjoining sanctuary of Atargatis, was built on an oriental plan.

L. 4. ψαλ[ίδαc. This might, of course, equally well be τήν] ψαλ[ίδα. Cumont publishes an inscription (2) found near the tower of the Palmyrene gods, recording the erection of τήν ψαλίδα ταύτην. He conjectured that it refers to a niche under a demi-cupola for the placing of an image, or the arch of the doorway. The rooms that have been dug show no signs of niches or of decorated arches. The former might well have been placed higher than the top of that part of the walls which is still standing and so have been lost. It seems likely enough that such a niche was provided for the relief of Hadad and Atargatis, found in the temple of Atargatis. On the other hand it is more difficult to explain the absence of any trace of the arches of the doorway, if that is what the word meant. It goes without saying that there must have been something more than a mere structural arch intended. Such an arch, of mud brick, is almost certain to have stood over the entrance, but it would be absurd for a man to record its erection as though it were separate from the rest of the building. Something in the way of decoration must have appeared



upon it, or it must have been of stone in distinction to the rest of the building, which was of crude brick. Of such decoration or stone no trace has hitherto been found. Moreover, the plural of D. 152 is more appropriate to niches than to arches for there are none of the rooms in this vicinity which have more than one entrance. On the other hand, D. 157 speaks of τὴν οἰκοδομὴν καὶ τὰ θυρώματα, furnishing an analogy both for the plural and for the appearance of doorways in this connection.<sup>4</sup>

D. 151. Found, December 10, in the northern part of the court of the temple of Artemis, face down. Fragment of a large stone block, worked only on the face; 0.32 m. by 0.35 m. by 0.20 m. Height of letters, 0.02 m. The letters are much worn, and the four-bar *sigma* shows them to be older than any of the inscriptions hitherto found. There were certainly no letters above, below, or to the left, and the most likely assumption is that this was a statue base bearing only the two names. (Pl. X, 2.)



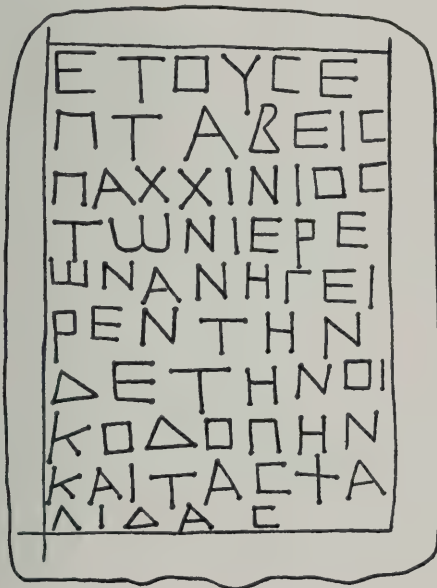
ΣΕΛΕ[ΥΚΟΣ  
ΝΙΚΑΤ[ΩΡ

Ll. 1, 2. Σέλε[υκος] Νικάτ[ωρ]. Founder of the Seleucid dynasty. The τ in line 2 is very far from clear and we cannot ignore the possibility that this was a dedication to Seleucus by Nicanor, his governor of Mesopotamia, who planted the original Macedonian colony at Dura (Cumont, Introduction, pp. xv ff.). But we have no other remains definitely assignable to the period of the town's foundation, and one hesitates to place the inscription as early as the end of the fourth century B.C. without some

<sup>4</sup> See Addenda.

corroborative evidence. On the other hand, if we read Νικάτωρ, the date will almost certainly be somewhat later, and may be considerably later. It is not known when the cult-name Nicator was first given to Seleucus (cf. Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *s.v.*). Appian (*Syr.* 63) reports that Seleucus was buried by his son Antiochus in a temple "whose precinct is called Nikatoreion." From this Kornemann (*Klio*, I, 68) and Kaerst (*Geschichte des Hellenismus*, II, 1, 419) conclude that "Nikator" was a name in use during his life. This is not a necessary conclusion, nor is it a very safe one, considering that the name never appears on inscriptions or coins during his lifetime. However, there is an inscription (Ditt., *O.G.*, 233) of the time of Antiochus III, 222–187 B.C., which begins Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Σελεύκου Νικάτορος -. The coins show us that these temples were in use in the time of Antiochus the Great, and the inscription may be dated in his time epigraphically, so that, without being too specific without evidence, we may believe that this was the base of a statue set up to the first Seleucid king in the time of one of his successors.

D. 152. Incised upon a stone tablet, 0.30 m. by 0.22 m. by 0.07 m. Height of letters, 0.02 m. Found, December 15, in the north part of the court of the temple of Artemis, room U.



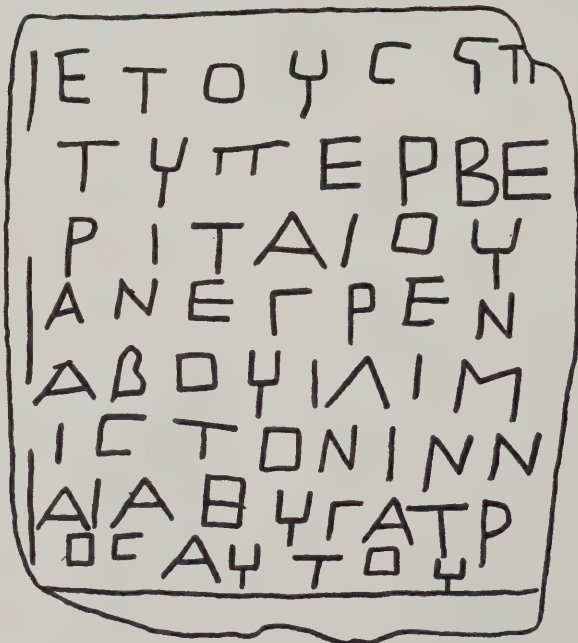
ΕΤΟΥΣ Ε  
ΠΤ ΑΒΕΙΣ  
ΠΑΧΧΙΝΙΟΣ  
ΤΩΝ ΙΕΡΕ  
ΩΝ ΑΝΗΓΕΙ  
ΡΕΝ ΤΗΝ  
ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΟΙ  
ΚΟΔΟΠΗΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΨΑ  
ΛΙΑΣ Ε

Ll. 1, 2. εμτ'. 345 Macedonian Era = 33 A.D. The Π might be μ or π, but, as it is μ in line 3, in the name and must also be μ in line 8, it is probably the same here.

Ll. 2, 3. 'Αβεισμαχχίνιος. "This appears to be a Greek form of the Aramaic name אבימח, Abī-Mahhī, "Father of Mahhi," which occurs here for the first time. Μαχχίβηλος "Bel gives life," is attested by Waddington, 1875 α; and the abbreviated name Mahhi, of a very common type, is thus assured" (Torrey).

Ll. 7-10. οἰκοδομήν καὶ τὰς ψαλίδας. Cf. D. 150, above.

D. 153. Found, December 20, in the room south of the naos of the temple of Artemis. Stone tablet, 0.31 m. by 0.27 m. by 0.06 m. Height of letters uneven, 0.015 m. to 0.02 m. Very clumsily cut.



ΕΤΟΥC ΣΤΙ  
ΤΥΠΕΡΒΕ  
ΡΙΤΑΙΟΥ  
ΑΝΕΓΡΕΝ  
ΑΒΟΥΙΛΙΜ  
ΙCΤΟΝΙΝΝ  
ΑΙΑΘΥΓΑΤΡ  
ΟC ΑΥΤΟΥ

Ll. 1, 2. ΣΠ'. 386 Macedonian Era = 74 A.D.

Ll. 2, 3. 'Υπερβεριταίου. Error for 'Υπερβερεταίου.

L. 4. ἀνέγρεν. Still more illiterate error for ἀνήγειρεν.

L. 5. 'Αβούλιμ. "The second element in אבואלם (?) is presumably the name of which the genitive 'Ιλμου occurs in Waddington, 2169. There



seems to be at present no way of determining the initial Semitic consonant (and therefore the meaning of the name) as there are several possibilities" (Torrey).

L. 6.  $\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron$ .  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  for  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  is an error easy to understand in so illiterate a person as Abou Ilim. The  $\tau\omicron$  is more difficult. Is it a mistake for  $\tau\eta\nu$ ,  $\text{Nivvaia}$  being regarded as an accusative? Or, more probably, are we to understand some such word as  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\nu$ , taking  $\text{Nivvaia}$  as a genitive? There seems to be no parallel to the phrase.

Ll. 6, 7.  $\text{Nivvaia}$ . "The name Nannai (Ninnai), נני, appears in de Vogüé, *Inscriptions sémitiques*, No. 132. It is on a tessera containing two feminine personal names, of which this is the second. It is the abbreviated form of a compound containing the name of the goddess Nan-(n)aea; compare the feminine name נתי, 'Αθηαia. In the form נניא the name is found *ibid.*, No. 67, line 1. This may be merely the Semitic transliteration of  $\text{Navvaia}$ , a supposition made plausible by the fact that she is described as "the friend of Julia Aurelia 'Ogga (אורליא עגא יוליא)." De Vogüé (p. 80) argued with good reason, from the names on the reverse of the tessera, that the same person is intended in both inscriptions.

"Another tessera, now in the Berlin museum, containing the same two feminine personal names, was first published by Mordtmann, *Sitzber. Bayer. Akad.*, 1875, II Supplement—Heft III, 20.44. See the *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, 1065 C and D; in the former of which the name נני is that of the goddess" (Torrey).

D. 154. Written in ink upon a fragment of a large earthenware vessel. Found, December 30, on the rampart next to the southwest tower of the city fortifications. The fragment measures 0.2 m. by 0.15 m. Height of letters, 0.005 m. to 0.022 m.

$\text{נניא}$   
 $\text{עגא יוליא}$

$\alpha\chi\phi$   
 $\text{Βαρσας γερω}$

L. 1. αζφ'. 561 Macedonian Era = 249 A.D.

L. 2. Βαρσάς. This is evidently the same as the Iranian Poratha which appears in Esther 9.8 as Βαρσά (F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 254). γέρων may be taken as an official title implying that a γερουσία was extant at Dura at this late period. But we have no evidence that this institution was ever established in the cities of Syria, although it is mentioned in inscriptions from Asia Minor of the imperial era. γέρων is more likely to have been used here literally or colloquially.

D. 155. Red letters painted on a fragment of plaster, 0.17 m. by 0.15 m. Height of letters uneven, 0.015 m. to 0.012 m. Found, December 30, on the rampart next to the southwest tower of the city fortifications. D. 156 may well have been part of the same inscription, but there is no join between them.

Αυρηλιος  
CEN OC

L. 1. Αὐρήλιος. Another example of a Dura inhabitant who assumed the *gentilicium* of the Emperor Caracalla through whom he obtained the Roman franchise. Since the inscription was found in a place apt to be frequented by soldiers, it is reasonable to assign this Aurelius to one of the military units stationed at Dura, so many of whose members styled themselves Aurelii.

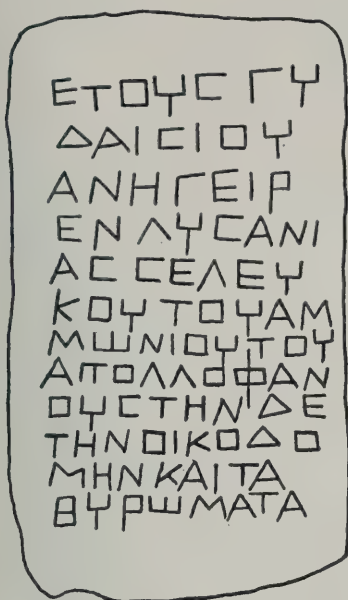
L. 2. As only the tops of the letters show, the readings are all entirely conjectural. Presumably this was a second name, and the letters restored are possible but nothing more.

D. 156. Red letters painted on a fragment of plaster 0.10 m. by 0.07 m. Found with D. 155 which it resembles in every way. The two were probably part of one inscription.

Α]πολλ[ωνι  
Αρτεμι[δι

Ll. 1, 2. 'Α]πόλλ[ωνι] 'Αρτέμι[δι. Patron gods of the Seleucid dynasty and so guardians of the Macedonian colony at Dura. Their names appear together upon a dedicatory inscription from the temple of Artemis (cf. D. 161, below).

D. 157. On a stone tablet 0.50 m. by 0.28 m. Height of letters, 0.015 m. Found, January 12, in the temple of Atargatis.



ΕΤΟΥC ΓΥ  
ΔΑΙCΙΟΥ  
ΑΝΗΓΕΙΡ  
ΕΝ ΛΥCΑΝΙ  
ΑC CΕΛΕΥ  
ΚΟΥ ΤΟΥΑΜ  
ΜΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ  
ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝ  
ΟΥC ΤΗΝΔΕ  
ΤΗΝ ΟΙΚΟΔΟ  
ΜΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ  
ΘΥΡΩΜΑΤΑ

L. 1. γυ'. 403 Macedonian Era = 91 A.D.

Ll. 4-6. Λυσανίας Σελεύκου. He appears in an inscription of the year 107/8. (Cumont, 75.)

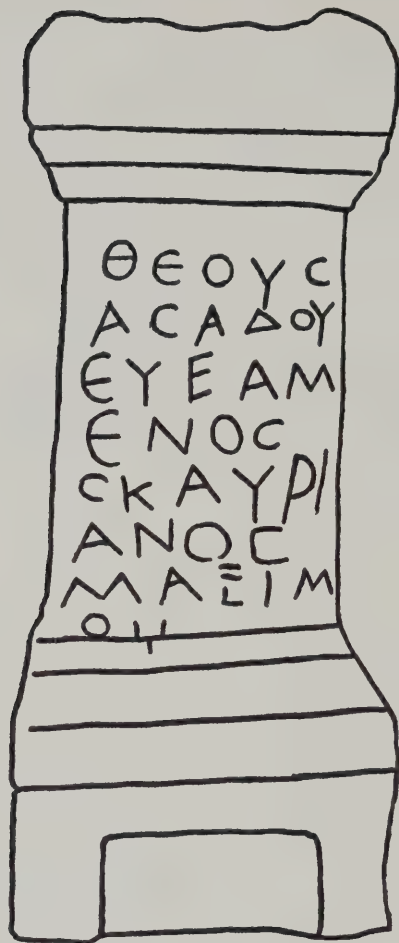
Ll. 6-9. Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Ἀπολλοφάνους. An Ammonius, the son of Apolophanes, put a dedicatory tablet in the naos of the temple of Atargatis in 31 A.D. (Cumont, 85, cf. p. 183.) He might well be the grandfather of the Lysanias mentioned in this inscription.

Ll. 10, 11. οἰκοδομήν. Cf. note to lines 2, 3, D. 150, above.

L. 12. θυρώματα. Presumably ornamental doors. "In the LXX with more than one meaning; e.g., 1 Kings, 1.50, where θυρώματα of gold play some part in the construction of doors" (Torrey).

D. 158. Found, January 12, incised upon the right side of a small stone altar attached to a wall in the temple of Atargatis by a layer of plaster which also covered the inscription. Length, 0.09 m.; height, 0.12 m. Height of letters, 0.01 m.





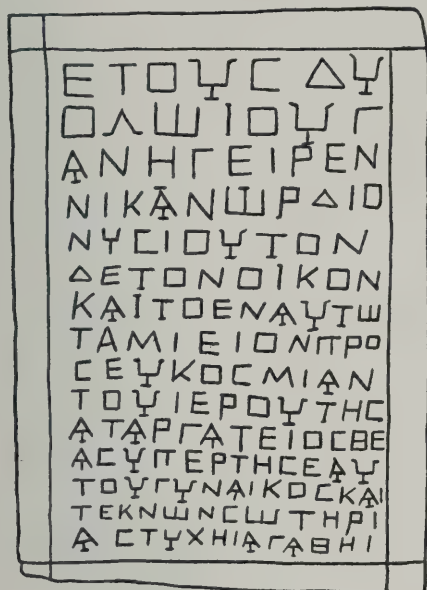
ΘΕΟΥC  
 ΑΣΑΔΟΥ  
 ΕΥΕΑΜ  
 ΕΝΟC  
 ΚΑΥΡΙ  
 ΑΝΟC  
 ΜΑΞΙΜ  
 ΟΥ

Ll. 1, 2. θεοῦ Σασάδου. Otherwise unknown. As suggested by Professor L. H. Gray of Columbia, the word Σασάδης is possibly a combination of the Asianic "lallname" Sassa and a suffix in -δ-. (Cf. Isaurian Σάσις, Carian Οὐλιάδης, Lycian Κταςάδας, Lycaonian Μουτάδης, cited by Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, pp. 330, 352.) If Iranian, it might be a formative connected with Scythian Σάσας and Iranian Sasan. (F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 291.)

Ll. 5, 6. Σκαυριανός. A certain Ulpius Scaurianus was στρατηγὸς κώμης at Kefr-Laha in Arabia in the year 236 A.D. (*I.G.R.R.*, III, 1213).

Ll. 7, 8. Μαξίμου. A name already known to us at Dura through two graffiti. (Cumont, 39 and 40.)

D. 159. On a stone tablet 0.34 m. by 0.25 m. Height of letters uneven, 0.015 m. to 0.02 m. Traces of red paint in the lettering. Found, January 20, in the temple of Atargatis.



ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΥ  
ΟΛΩΙΟΥ Γ  
ΑΝΗΓΕΙΡΕΝ  
ΝΙΚΑΝΩΡ ΔΙΟ  
ΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΝΔΕ  
ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ  
ΤΑΜΕΙΟΝ ΠΡΟ  
Σ ΕΥΚΟΜΙΑΝ  
ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΤΗΣ  
ΑΤΑΡΓΑΤΕΙΟΣ ΘΕ  
ΑΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΕΑΥ  
ΤΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΙ  
ΤΕΚΝΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΙ  
ΑΣ ΤΥΧΗ ΑΓΑΘΗ

L. 1. δυ'. 404 Macedonian Era = 92 A.D.

L. 2. 'Ολώου. This rare form of the Macedonian month Λῶος is found elsewhere at Dura (Cumont, 2, line 1) as well as upon Parthian coins (*B.M.C.*, Parthia, p. lvi).

L. 4. Νικάνωρ. In the year 129 A.D. we find mention of a Lysanias, the son of Nicanor and husband of Bazeis (Cumont, 79). He is possibly this Nicanor's son.

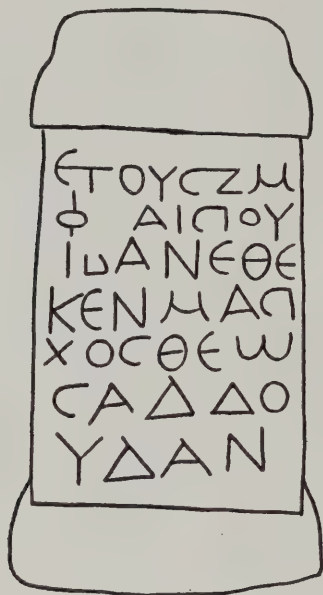
Ll. 4, 5. Διονυσίου. Cf. D. 148, above.

L. 6. οίκον. Used here, like οἰκοδομή to designate one of the rooms or chapels surrounding the main court of the temple (Cumont, 1, line 2 and D. 150 and D. 157, above).

L. 8. ταμείον. Presumably a strong-box of money to be used for the adornment of the temple.

L. 11. Ἀταργάτειος. A misspelling either for Ἀταργάτιος or for Ἀταργάτως as the genitive of Ἀταργάτις. But cf. the dative in ἰδί of D. 145 and the nominative in ἦ of D. 146.

D. 160. Found, February 2, in the temple of Atargatis incised upon the front of a small stone altar, which had been subsequently plastered over. Length, 0.19 m.; height, 0.25 m. Height of letters, 0.02 m.



ΕΤΟΥC ZM  
Φ[Δ]ΑΙCΙΟΥ  
ΙΒ ΑΝΕΘΕ  
ΚΕΝ ΜΑCΙ  
ΧΟC ΘΕΩ  
CΑΔΔΟ  
ΥΔΑΝ

Ll. 1, 2. ζμφ'. 547 Macedonian Era = 235 A.D.

Ll. 3, 4. ἀνέθηκεν for ἀνέθηκεν.

Ll. 4, 5. Μάσιχος. "The Protected" or "The Covered." Noun formed from the *kātīl* of the root *skk*, with normal passive significance. The name is already known to us through three inscriptions from Arabia (*I.G.R.R.*, III, 1250, 1293, and 1335) and a papyrus (*Papiri Greci e Latini*, VI, 591, 1).

Ll. 5-7. θεῶ Σάδδουδαν. "This strange-sounding name of a deity appears to be Semitic, most likely Aramaic. The caritative form *qattūl* is much used in the Hauran, North Syria, and Palmyra, as well as elsewhere, for personal names; see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, II, 21 f. There would be nothing strange in the extension of this popular use to include divine appellatives.

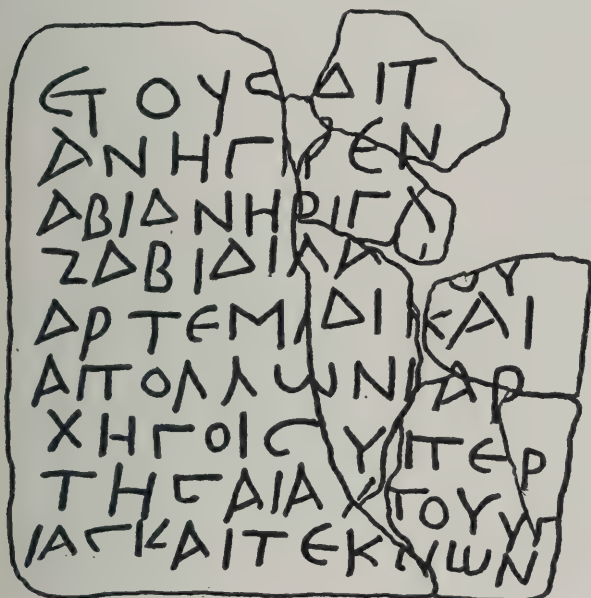


"What σαδδουδ- would be likely to mean, is then a problem. One might think, for instance, of the Aramaic root 𐤔𐤕, 'look intently upon' or 'turn the eyes toward' a person or thing. Connection with 𐤔, 'demon,' is not likely; still less with the Hebrew *Shaddai* (whatever this may be supposed to mean). The Assyrian *Shadutu*, 'grace, favor' (of a god) also seems too remote.

"The close resemblance of this divine name to the personal name 'Αδδουδάνης, attested in a Palmyrene inscription of the year 253 A.D. *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, 1642, is very noticeable" (Torrey).

In Philo Byblos (Orelli, p. 30) we encounter an analogous name, Σάδιδος.

D. 161. Found, February 3, in eight fragments in the temple of Artemis. Height, when complete, 0.29 m.; length, 0.3 m. Height of letters, 0.02 m. Drill holes conspicuous.



ΕΤΟΥC ΔΙΤ  
ΑΝΗΓΙΡΕΝ  
ΑΒΙΔΝΗΡΙΓΛ[ΟC  
ΖΑΒΙΔΙΑΙΟΥ  
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙ ΚΑΙ  
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΑΡ  
ΧΗΓΟΙC ΥΠΕΡ  
ΤΗC ΑΙΑΥΤΟΥ ΥΓ  
ΙΑC ΚΑΙ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ

L. 1. διτ'. 314 Macedonian Era = 2 A.D.

L. 2. ἀνήγειρεν for ἀνήγειρεν.

L. 3. 'Αβιδνήριγλ[ος. עבדנרגל "Servant of Nergal." "Apparently a Palmyrene name, though Nergal has not hitherto appeared as a Palmyrene deity. For the form, compare 'Αβιδβηλος, 'Servant of Bel,' in Wad-

dington, 1854 *d* and 2556; Νηριγλίσσαρος (*Nergal-Sharusur*) in Berosus; and Νηρικασολασσάρου in the Ptolemaic Canon" (Torrey).

L. 4. Ζαβιδιλαίου. 𐤆𐤁𐤕𐤕 "God is the Giver." A common Palmyrene name (cf. Littmann, *Sem. Inscr.*, p. 66, No. 5, 1.3).

Ll. 5-7. Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀρχηγοῖς. We have here a frequent epithet of Apollo in Seleucid inscriptions (Dittenberger, *O.G.*, 212, 13; 219, 26; 237, 5), for the Seleucids considered the god as the founder of their dynasty (Justin, XV, 4, 3). That we find him and his sister Artemis honored under this title at a time when Dura had long been free of Seleucid control proves that the tradition of the original Macedonian foundation was still vigorous.

L. 8. αἰαυτοῦ for ἑαυτοῦ. Another example of the substitution of αἰ for εἰ in the same word appears in *I.G.R.R.*, III, 284: τοὺς υἱοὺς α[ἰ]αυτῆς καὶ πατέρα αὐτῶν.

Ll. 8, 9. ὑγίας for ὑγείας. Cf. note to D. 148, line 8, above.

D. 162. Found, February 7, in the temple of Artemis. Large stone block, 0.79 m. by 0.96 m. by 0.28 m. The two lines which constitute the inscription run across the top under a projecting border. They are not broken off by the end of the stone but stop about 10 cm. from the right-hand edge. Height of letters uneven, 0.035 m. to 0.04 m.

ΕΥΘΥΝΙΚΗC ΤΗC ΔΑΝΥΜΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟC  
ΔΕ CΕ]ΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΛΥCΙΟΥ ΕΤ° Κ

Although all the names in the above are well known to us through other Dura inscriptions (cf. *Indices* of Cumont and *Rep. II*) this particular Euthynice, the daughter of Danymus, is encountered here for the first time. She is not to be confused with the Euthynice of Cumont's Inscription 116, who, although the wife of Seleucus the Strategus, the son of Lysias, is the daughter of a Seleucus, not of a Danymus.

D. 163. Found in the temple of Atargatis. Fragment of a tile, 0.24 m. by 0.24 m. when intact. Height of letters, 0.03 m.

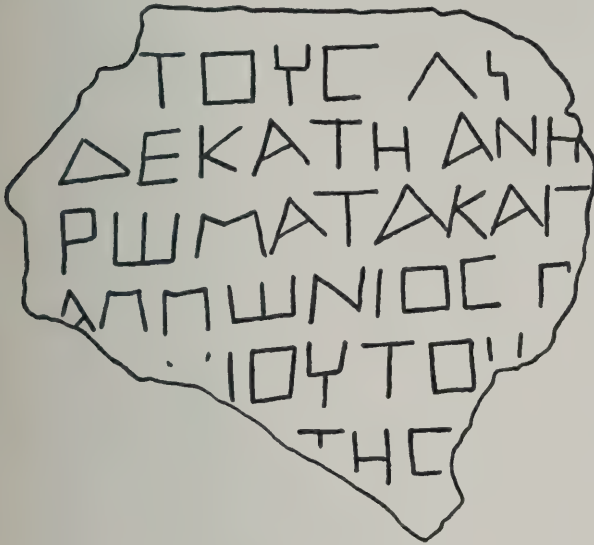
Ε]ΤΟΥ[C  
ΞΤ  
ΔΙΟ]Υ Κ

L. 2. ξτ'. There is no way of telling whether a third numeral preceded the ξ. Thus we must put this date between 360 and 369 of the Macedonian Era, that is between 48 and 57 A.D.

L. 3. κ'. We cannot tell whether a second numeral followed the κ.

Thus the day of the month given here must be placed between the 20th and the 30th.

D. 164. Fragment of stone, 0.18 m. by 0.17 m. Found, February 9, in the temple of Artemis, room V. Height of letters 0.015 m. Traces of red paint in the lettering.



Ε]ΤΟΥΣ ΑΥ  
ΔΕΚΑΤΗ ΑΝΗ[ΓΕΙΡΕΝ ΤΑ  
ΘΥ]ΡΩΠΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ Τ[ΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝ  
ΑΠΠΩΝΙΟΣ Γ(or Π or Ο)  
ΥΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ  
ΥΠΕΡ] ΤΗΣ

L. 1. λυ'. 430 Macedonian Era = 118 A.D.

L. 4. Ἀμμώνιος. A familiar name at Dura, but, on account of the date, not to be identified with any Ammonios already known to us.

D. 165. Black lettering painted on plaster; in two fragments. Found, February 10, in the temple of Atargatis. In the same *débris* fragments of a fresco came to light, one of which portrays part of a woman's face.

εας  
θ]υγατ[ρός

L. 1. εας. Probably the end of a feminine name in the genitive case belonging to the daughter of the dedicator.

D. 166. Found in the temple of Atargatis. Irregular fragment of stone. Length, 0.122 m.; height, 0.115 m. Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Ω  
ΓΥ



## II. THE SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS

BY C. C. TORREY

*A Saffaitic Inscription.*

This inscription was uncovered at Dura in the campaign of 1929-30, in the neighborhood of the south wady. It is on a pillar composed of rubble and cement and plastered over; the letters are carved in the plaster. The excavation had not at that time progressed far enough to make it possible to determine the nature of the building to which the pillar belonged.

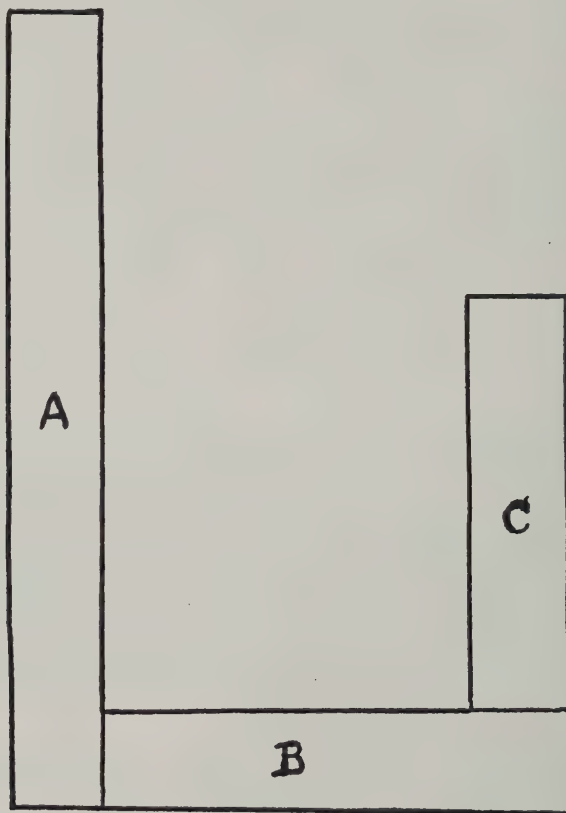


Fig. 1

The manner in which the inscription is disposed on the pillar is shown in the accompanying Figure 1. It runs down perpendicularly,

then horizontally to the right(!) halfway around, then rises again in a perpendicular line. It is here reproduced (Fig. 2) in horizontal lines, for convenience, the location of the two right angles which it forms on the pillar being indicated by dotted lines. Thus, the portion A in Figure 1 ends between the last two letters of the second line; B includes the third line; C, the last line. It seems likely that the inscription was put on the pillar before it was erected; for as it now stands, the horizontal line (B) is upside down and runs from the left to right (not as in the copy given here). In all probability this line was intended to form the top of the inscription, not the bottom.

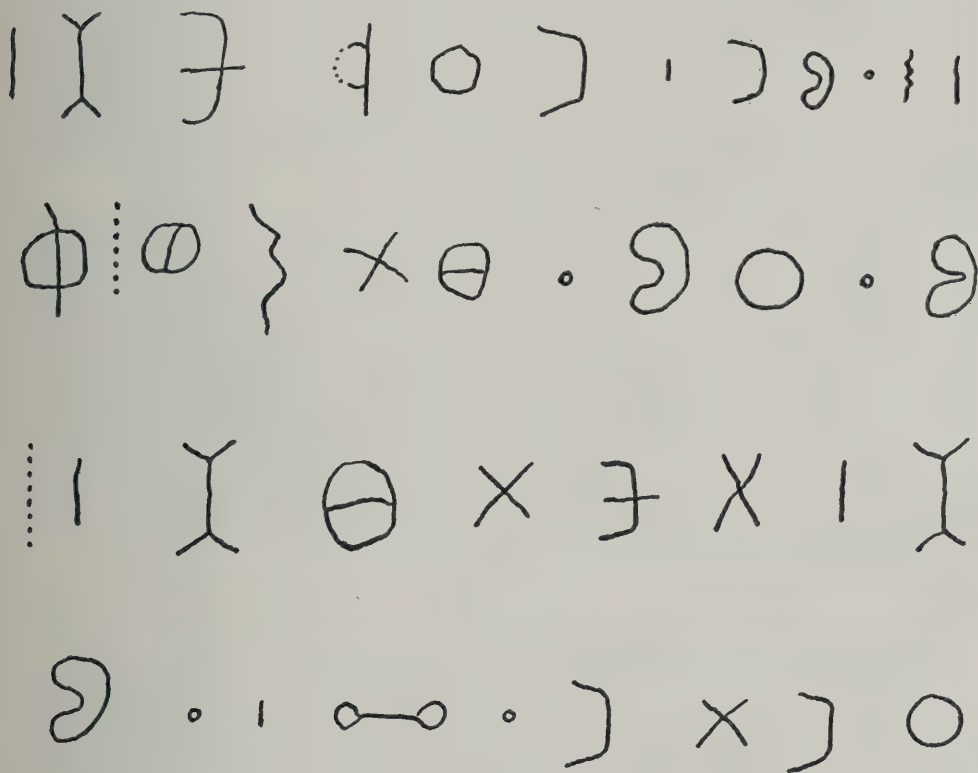


Fig. 2

רשע מבני בנר האל מע נמע ותשוק  
אל תחת ואל גבת בעת נעם

L° Šai' mibbēnī Biğād ḥā'il ma' ġam' wa-tašawwaq ila Taḥt  
wa-ila Ġubbat bā'ith na'im.

Of Šai', of the Banī Biğād, passing by with a company; and  
he longed for Taḥt and for Ġubbat; sending a greeting.

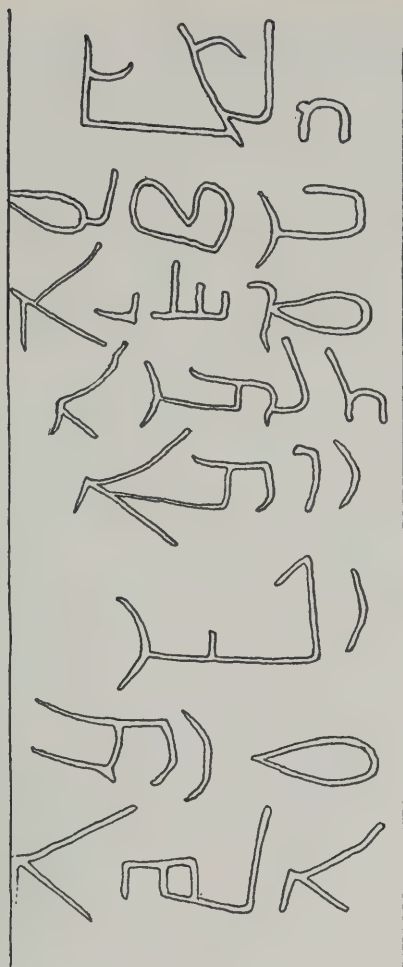
In the preceding report of the excavations at Dura, some account was given of the Safaïtic inscriptions, their character and range; and of the peculiar alphabet, derived from the South-Arabian. The inscription now before us is an unusually good specimen, in all respects typical. The characters are well cut, and fairly even in size, except at the beginning, where they are small and somewhat crowded. The squeezes from which they are here copied reproduce them clearly in almost every case. The only doubtful letter is the *nun* in the last word. It is crossed by several lines, which probably represent merely accidental scratches. The *thā* just preceding is lying on its side; possibly made thus in order to prolong this arm (C) of the inscription.

The name Šai' appears more than once in the Safaïtic inscriptions published by Littmann. Biğād is well known as an Arab name; see Wüstenfeld's *Register* and Dhahabī's *Moschtabih*. Taḥath as the name of a place seems to be unknown in Arabic. It appears in the Old Testament (Num. 33.26) as one of the halting-places of the Israelites in their journeyings. The formula, "and he longed for" (this or that place or person), occurs more than once elsewhere in these inscriptions. There is a Ġubba(t) described by Yāqūt (II, 31), as a district between Damascus and Ba'albek, containing a number of villages. The northern Arabs always "longed for" the vicinity of Damascus.

#### *A Semitic Stele.*

This little monument is of quite unusual interest. The inscription is remarkable, and so also is the script in which it is written. There is some good reason for the conjecture that its author was a Christian, however unlikely this might seem on general grounds. Although the inscription is carved on an altar, it is not dedicatory, but is merely a personal memorial. The accompanying facsimile is made from a squeeze, with the aid of photographs and a careful drawing kindly furnished by M. Pillet. (Pl. XIX, 1.)





Facsimile

חלצא | ברסנק | קרחניא | תלמדה | דרמא | דכיר  
 קדם | אלהא

Khālīṣā son of Sennaq, of Qarḥā(?), disciple of Rāmā.  
 May he be remembered before God.

There can be no doubt, I think, in regard to the reading of any one of the characters. The letters *dalet* and *resh*, ordinarily identical in form, are here plainly distinguished from each other in the only places

(lines 3 and 5) where there could be ambiguity. The boomerang-like form which the two letters receive in this inscription is very remarkable, suggesting especially the oldest Arabic script. In general, the characters of the inscription might well be termed "proto-Syriac," for they are clearly the precursors of the oldest Estrangelā. The final *aleph* in the first line is unique, apparently the Estrangelā character turned on its side. In the squeeze there is a faint suggestion of a second curved stroke near the top; but as no trace of this appears either in the photographs or in M. Pillet's drawing, it is probably the result of a slight defect in the smooth surface of the stone. The form of the *qōph* is very interesting, standing midway between the primitive Estrangelā and a late Palmyrene form appearing for example in a bilingual inscription preserved in the Capitoline Museum in Rome (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, 1, p. 126); see the facsimile in Lidzbarski, Plate XLII, 10. A form closely resembling it appears also in Sachau's Edessene inscription No. 8, mentioned below. At the end of the second line of our inscription the point of the letter runs out into the projecting margin. Among the other characters, the height of the *kaph* (line 6) is noticeable; in other respects the character is like those in the ancient tomb inscriptions at Edessa published by Sachau, *Z.D.M.G.*, XXXVI, 142 f., Nos. 5 and 8. (Sachau's readings might now be improved in view of the new information afforded by our inscription. For example, the final word in his No. 5, pp. 160 f., which he interprets as לבני דכיר, would seem rather to be דכיר.) The form of the letter *hē*, in the last line of our inscription, is unique.

As was remarked above, there is evidence that the author of the inscription was a Christian from the region of Edessa. He speaks as a monotheist, desiring to be remembered "before God"; and calls himself a "disciple," as though designating himself as a member of a new sect. The name of the place from which he comes seems to be otherwise unknown. I have conjectured Qarhā and the gentilic adjective Qarhānāi, but this is a mere guess. Khalīṣā, "strong, valiant," is a term much used by the early Christians to designate a combatant for the faith, or a martyr, like the Greek ἀθλητής; see the numerous examples in Payne Smith.

The occurrence of the name Sennaq is particularly interesting. It has been known from the *Doctrine of Addai*, where it is found both in the text edited from the Leningrad MS by Phillips, Syriac text, 53, l. 1, and in Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, 23, l. 19. The complete

account of the evangelization of Edessa and the conversion of Abgar in the time of Addai and his fellows is here said to have been written by "the royal scribe Labubna, son of Sennaq, son of 'Abdshaddai" ('Abshaddar in the Leningrad MS, and in Moses of Chorene, whose Armenian text was translated from the Syriac). The legend of Abgar must have been given literary form soon after the year 200; Krüger, *History of Early Christian Literature*, p. 365; Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 28; Duval, *La littérature syriaque* (1900), p. 116. Our monument at Dura is in all probability to be dated in the first half of the third century. It is thus a very plausible supposition that the author of the inscription was the brother of "the royal scribe Labubna." In the preceding (purely fanciful) account of the conversion of Edessa given in the *Doctrine*, Sennaq is called the son of 'Awīdha, who is mentioned earlier in the story; and he, along with Palut (who lived at about the beginning of the third century), is transferred to the first century and the reign of Abgar V. bar Ma'nū. See Phillips, *Doctrine of Addai*, 40, bottom line; and Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, 18, line 20. The name Sennaq (Greek Σιννάκης) is Parthian.

Rāmā, line 5, is also known as a name in use among the Christians of Mesopotamia; see Thomas of Marga's *Book of the Governors*, ed. Budge, I, 125, line 10; II (translation), 265. All in all, considering the content of the inscription, the script, the names, and the coincidence in date, it seems very probable that we have here at Dura the oldest known monument of Mesopotamian Christianity.



## IV REPORT ON FINDS

### I. POTTERY, LAMPS, AND GLASS

BY CLARK HOPKINS

SPECIMENS of pottery found in the 1929-30 campaign varied little from the types found in the excavations of M. Cumont during 1922-23, and in our own campaign of 1928-29. The usual types of common yellow ware made from river clay were well represented, excellent examples of some of the larger storage jars were found intact, *faïence* and brittle ware were not uncommon; only the red glaze and red and black slip wares of the earlier Hellenistic period were lacking.<sup>1</sup>

Just one piece of black glazed ware (1930.520), found in the temple of Artemis, was recovered, the fragment of a plate the middle of which was decorated with a series of three milled circles, the lines of the circles about half a centimeter long and the circles represented as radiating from the center. The general type of decoration is well known and this, with the rather sandy pink clay and the poor glaze, places the vessel at once in Fisher's third and latest class of black glazed Hellenistic wares.<sup>2</sup> The fragment showed only part of the base 0.012 m. high and app. 0.153 m. in diameter, and a section of the center.

The general lack of earlier types of pottery was more surprising in view of the fact that in the temple of Artemis itself coins dating back to the beginning of the Hellenistic period were found. Possibly the explanation of this difficulty is to be found in the fact that pottery vessels were not used largely in the shrines, as the small amount of pottery discovered here suggests.<sup>3</sup>

A summary of the ceramic finds follows:

Ordinary yellow ware.

A. Shallow bowls (similar in type to those represented in Cumont's *Fouilles*, Pl. CXXIII, 1; *Rep. II*, Pl. XLIX, 1, 330 and 331; cf. *Samaria*, I, Fig. 161, 16 and 19).

1930.98. Gray sandy clay. Sides almost straight except for flare at rim. Almost no flat bottom within.

<sup>1</sup> For the general discussion of the periods see *Rep. II*, pp. 31 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Samaria*, p. 292.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 19 ff. and 28 ff. for the history of the temple of Artemis.

1930.99. Pink sandy clay. Sides almost straight with slight flare at rim.

1930.100. Pink-gray sandy clay. Sides almost straight after slight rise from base to give the appearance of a base stand.

1930.101. Pink-gray clay with whitewash slip. Suggestion of a rim by straightening of inside edge just below the top.

1930.103. Pink sandy clay with worn whitewash slip. Almost straight sides. A knob almost a centimeter high rises in the inside center. In two places the rim of the vessel is cut down to make saw-teeth edges.

1930.104. (Type of *Rep. II*, Pl. XLIX, 1, 325). From southeast corner of temple of Atargatis. Gray sandy clay. Base of three stumpy legs raising the vessel almost a centimeter. From the rim seven knobs project (apparently the sides were cut down to leave the projections), four in pairs to give a saw-tooth effect, the others spaced two or three centimeters apart.

B. Small pitchers (similar in type to those represented in Cumont's *Fouilles*, Pl. CXXII, 1; *Rep. II*, Pl. XLIX, 1, 326; *Samaria*, I, Fig. 163, II, 1).

1930.495. Gray-pink sandy clay. Lip chipped. One rounded handle.

1930.496. Gray sandy clay. Lip broken. One rounded handle. Belly of vessel, lemon shaped.

1930.497. Found in first house southeast of temple of Artemis. Gray river clay. Lip chipped. One rounded handle.

1930.498. Gray river clay. Sides almost vertical. One ribbon handle.

1930.499. Found in room 8, temple of Atargatis. One rounded handle. Belly round.

1930.500. Pink-gray sandy clay. Sides almost vertical. Rounded handle, lip to shoulder.

1930.501. Gray river clay. One rounded handle.

1930.502. Found at Palmyrene Gate, north. Pink sandy light clay. Lip broken. Belly round.

1930.503. Sandy gray clay. Lip completely gone. Handle broken.

1930.504. Found at north entrance, temple of Artemis. Gray sandy clay. Lip broken but showing slight nozzle. Pointed base marked with fire.

1930.612. A crude miniature offering bowl, roughly fashioned without wheel. Base pointed. Maximum height, 0.06 m. Maximum diameter, 0.04 m.

C. Lemon shaped pitchers (similar in type to those represented in Cumont's *Fouilles*, Pl. CXXII, 5; *Rep. II*, Pl. XLIX, 1, 328; *Samaria*, I, Fig. 162, 7a).

1930.97. Found in street southeast of Tower 12 *ter*. Gray river clay. One handle from below lip to shoulder.

1930.105. Gray-pink clay. Top and one handle broken.

1930.106. Gray river clay marked with fire. Lip broken. One round (cylindrical) handle.

1930.506. Gray-pink clay partly covered with white gypsum wash. Lip broken. One round handle.

D. Round bellied jugs (similar in type to those represented in Cumont's *Fouilles*, Pl. CXXII, 4; *Rep. II*, Pl. XLIX, 2, 329; *Samaria*, I, Fig. 167, 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b).

1930.507. Found in street east of Tower 12 *ter*. Gray-pink clay perhaps formerly covered with green *faïence*. Lip chipped. Between rim and handle is placed a small cylindrical piece on which rests a flat knob almost a centimeter in diameter. The knob is similar to those found on many *faïence* vessels.

1930.509. Found in street east of Tower 12 *ter*. Vessel broken in two parts, hole in side. Pink, sandy, porous clay. Two handles. The sides of the neck instead of being vertical round out to form a bulge part way between lip and shoulder.

1930.510. Found in southwest rampart. Lip broken. Gray river clay. Two handles (one broken) from lip to shoulder.

1930.107. (Brittle ware.) Found in southeast corner of temple of Artemis. Red, almost brick-colored clay in some parts (half a centimeter thick) shading in other parts of the vessel to gray-black. Two handles from lip to shoulder. A good example of unbanded brittle ware.

#### *Storage Jars.*

A. Tapering jars with rounded shoulder, medium size (similar in shape though smaller than that represented in Cumont's *Fouilles*, Pl. CXXII, 6).

1930.512. Sandy gray clay lined with bitumen. Two crude wave bands scratched on shoulder. Three small handles (one broken).

1930.514. Found in courtine of northeast bastion southwest. Sandy gray clay wash over pink biscuit. Two handles (one detached). Comb band of five grooves running beneath handles.



1930.515. Found just outside of south tower bastion southwest. Probably gray clay wash over pink biscuit. Two handles.

The maximum heights of these three are 0.41 m., 0.40 m., and 0.43 m. respectively and their maximum diameters 0.39 m., 0.355 m., and 0.345 m. So closely do they resemble one another that it is most probable they were made on the same wheel.

B. Double-bellied jars (similar in shape to, though smaller than, that represented in Cumont's *Fouilles*, Pl. CXXIII, 5, right-hand side).

1930.508. Found in first house southeast of temple of Atargatis. Gray clay, or gray slip over pink biscuit. Lined with bitumen.

C. Sharply shouldered jars, large size (similar in type to that represented in Cumont's *Fouilles*, Pl. CXXIII, 6).

1930.626. Found at Palmyrene Gate. Pink gray clay, the pink showing here and there. Two handles.

D. Wide mouthed pithoi (similar in type to that represented in *Rep.* II, Pl. XIV; description, p. 46).

1930.511. Gray and pink clay, the color apparently determined by the firing. Lined with bitumen. The bottom is broken off but recovered. Three handles. Edge of lip marked with vertical lines.

E. Narrow mouthed pithoi (similar in type to that represented in Cumont's *Fouilles*, Pl. CXXIII, 4).

1930.527. Found in room 14, temple of Atargatis. Pink clay. Lip rounds up and over to make rim.

### *Faïence.*

In general the pieces of *faïence* ware found were very similar in type to those of previous campaigns. They consisted chiefly of fragments of tall ornamental vases, parts of large plates, and some pieces of smaller types covered with greenish-blue glaze.

### Common types.

1930.523. Lemon shaped pitcher. Top broken. Two small ribbon handles from just beneath rim to shoulder (one broken). Rather poor greenish-blue glaze.

1930.521. Found east of Tower 12 *ter*. Small round pitcher, almost complete. Sides rise almost vertical to shoulder. Lip partly broken. One handle.

1930.522. Small round pitcher. Top broken off. Two handles starting from shoulder. Glaze poor and much rubbed to show common type of clay beneath. The glaze probably never covered the base stand.

New types.

1930.603. A small vessel, top broken. Sides almost vertical above a cylindrical base. Base, diameter, 0.027 m.; height, 0.011 m. Diameter of belly, 0.04 m. and 0.043 m. at height of 0.04 m. where it is broken off.

1930.526. Fragments of a large bowl whose diameter was app. 0.35 m. We have one cylindrical twisted handle (length, 0.15 m.; diameter, 0.035 m.) which was placed close to the rim of the vessel in a horizontal position. From it hung four pointed knobs or drops. On the top of the handle above the drops were placed four knobs of the regular *faïence* type. Fragments (1930.528c), perhaps from the same bowl, show the surface blocked off in sections by bands of chain pattern running at right angles to one another, the sectors ornamented with numerous prominent knobs. Both parts were from ornamental bowls designed probably to receive offerings.

1930.525. Part of rim and handle of a bowl app. 0.21 m. in maximum diameter. From the rim two twisted handles project horizontally, 0.045 m. The two, each 0.017 m. in diameter, are placed together and end in a crude representation of a ram's head, the horns curving back to either side of the handles, the eyes represented as round knobs, 0.011 m. in diameter, and the snout represented by the pointed end of the handle as a whole. Fine green glaze over flaky river clay.

### *Lamps.*

During the excavations, forty-two lamps of Roman type and two of eastern type were found, all made of common river clay without glaze. Thirty-nine were found together in room O of the house of the priests.

A. Roman type (similar in type to those represented in *Rep. II*, Pl. XLVIII, 1, 310; *Samaria*, I, Figs. 197 and 198).

1930.53-93 and 96. All molded of sandy river clay, pink or gray. All but one marked with fire. In all the center is depressed, the rim of the aperture is slightly raised and thickened for strengthening, sometimes a small band of clay circling it. The differences in size are not great.

Ornaments.

Ornaments, if any, are placed between the raised rim of the central aperture and the shoulder as in *Rep. II*, Pl. XLVIII, 1, 310. The most

common form is that of the flower petal radiating from the central aperture, some patterns representing twenty-four, some sixteen petals slightly separated from one another. The petals are made by two lines running out from the center and rounding over to meet one another at the ends.

On the bottoms of five of the lamps there is a letter impressed, and on one the representation of a bowl is outlined in relief, the bowl adorned with handle and base stand (cf. *Samaria*, I, Fig. 197, I, 3a, and the description of another lamp, *Samaria*, I, p. 323, 5d). The letters on our lamps allow us to postulate that lamps 1930.77-79 were made in the same mold, as also were lamps 1930.83 and 85. The ornaments on the bottom were probably trade-marks of potters. Many of the other lamps are so similar to one another in shape and design that it is more than probable that they were made in one mold.

1930.53-61 and 63-71 plain.

1930.72, 73, and 96. Series of dots.

1930.84. Series of dots. On bottom, representation of bowl with handle, nozzle, and stand outlined in relief.

1930.62, 74-76, 80, 86-93. Petal pattern, no designs on bottom.

1930.77-79. Petal pattern (16 petals). On bottom, impressed capital eta.

1930.83 and 85. Petal pattern. On shoulder wavy line and dots. On edge, dividing (with the nozzle) the surface into four equal parts, small wave patterns 0.017 m. long. On bottom a capital mu impressed, dots just above and below.

1930.81 and 82. Pattern of grapes and vine.

B. Eastern type (similar in type to those represented in *Rep. II*, Pl. XLVIII, 1, 312). This type is fashioned not very skilfully on the wheel, is made of river clay without glaze, and characterized by the wide central aperture, the long nozzle, and the knobs on the sides.

1930.94. Nozzle aperture broken. Vertical handle pinched in at back, reaching from lip to shoulder and rising slightly above the rim. On either side of the lamp a pointed knob is placed carelessly near the middle.

1930.95. Vertical handle reaches up above rim and descends to shoulder. Four knobs, two on either side, are applied clumsily to the shoulder.

### *Glass.*

No complete vases of glass but many fragments of vessels were found. The most common types at Dura seem to be those made with clear, or



light greenish-blue, biscuit covered with a white patina sometimes marked with the lines of a brush, and those made with clear or dark opaque glass covered with a dark brown patina. The glass itself is sometimes mottled, one piece giving the appearance of white chinaware speckled with brown dots. One fragment of clear glass beneath a dark patina seemed to be from a vessel representing a bunch of grapes for the surface was molded into circular divisions which were rounded out into semispherical form. A single fragment showed painted decoration. This was part of the shoulder of a vase made of dark glass covered with a brown patina (perhaps just the result of acids in the earth on the glass itself). On the shoulder a single design of round flower blossoms was painted, the flowers represented with round white center 0.01 m. in diameter. A narrow band of dark paint set off this white center, and around the band small dots painted in red made the petals for the flowers. The flowers were set approximately 0.02 m. apart and were separated by a series of white dots painted also on the surface.

1930.602. Base of phial. Opaque glass of slightly greenish color with white patina. The glass as the break at the neck shows, is poor and mottled in appearance. In some places this mottled white resembling poor chinaware in substance, covers an inner core of clear glass both inside and out, in other parts the mottled white, china-like fabric runs completely through the side. It is possible therefore that the appearance of patina was given by the firing of the glass and the mottled appearance of the surface seems to support this view.

1930.601. A wide ribbon of mottled white and brown opaque glass. At first sight the fragment seems part of a large handle, but as the bottom does not seem to have been broken from a vessel, it is perhaps better to consider it part of a stand. The base is elliptical in shape, 0.092 m. long by 0.035 m. From this the back rises almost vertically to a height of 0.05 m. then bends back to a horizontal position just before the break. The front is molded into thin bands in relief which extend to the edge of the base.

In addition mention might be made of the handle of a vase of clear glass covered with white patina. The handle is adorned with a comb band pattern running vertically and covering the entire surface.

## II. ARMOR

A good many iron scales of the Roman *lorica squamata* were found, among which were two series of nine each, linked together. These were

0.04 m. by 0.025 m. and probably came from the same breastplate. The largest scales found were 0.065 m. by 0.045 m.

Four iron arrowheads were recovered, some ending in a shank to be thrust into the shaft of the arrow, some spreading just beyond the head to inclose the lower end of the shaft. The heads are all pyramidal or conical in shape and solid. In contrast to this type of head is that of a small dart, or arrow, made with three projections extending from a narrow central core.

An iron head somewhat larger than the arrowheads, measuring 0.11 m. in length, with a shank 0.02 m. long (broken), is probably to be taken as the head of a small lance or spear. It is so badly oxidized, however, that the exact original size and purpose cannot be determined.

A large, flat, heavy piece of iron broken in four pieces (1930.591a-d) is apparently part of the head of a great spear. The piece measures 0.23 m. by 0.086 m. (maximum width) curving to 0.063 m. and 0.055 m. at either end. Both points are missing. The piece is of heavy metal, much oxidized and measuring over a centimeter in thickness. From the size one would be inclined at first to think it part of a double pointed ax. Both Scythian and Persian axes, however, well known from archaeological finds,<sup>4</sup> have a broad blade on one side. Furthermore our own piece has no opening in the center for the shaft of the ax, nor any indication of notches to hold the binding of a split shaft. It seems better, therefore, at present, to consider the iron piece part of the head of a great spear. We know that the Persian spearmen carried long spears with large leaf-shaped blades.<sup>5</sup> Occasionally the shaft instead of being introduced into the head proper was fastened to a shank behind a round metal piece immediately back of the leaf of the blade itself. Of this type the monument of Darius at Behistun gives us a good example.<sup>6</sup> Even so the broad blade of our weapon seems extraordinarily large. Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that the cataphracts of the period had adopted the spears of the infantry and were able to carry still larger and heavier weapons than the infantry.

Most interesting among the finds of armor was a heavy piece of iron (1930.595a-c), measuring 0.37 m. by 0.30 m. by app. 0.04 m. and made entirely of iron rings 0.01 m. in diameter. (Pl. XI, 1.) The piece has

<sup>4</sup> Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, pp. 40, 41, 50, 58, 59.

<sup>5</sup> Sarre, *Die Kunst*, Pls. 19, 27, 38.

<sup>6</sup> A. V. W. Jackson, *Herodotus VII, 61, or Ancient Persian Armor*, Classical Studies in Honor of Henry Drisler (New York, 1894), p. 101, Fig. 3.

become so oxidized and has rusted together in such a way that it makes one indissoluble mass. The outside rings however are perfectly visible as well as the original shape as a whole and there is no doubt but that it is a corselet of mail which covered the chest and back of the warrior. There is no trace of sleeves. Extremely difficult to resolve however is the problem whether the armor should be classed as ring armor (the rings fastened to some backing of leather or cloth) or as chain mail (the rings themselves forming a complete corselet).

With the ring armor we are well acquainted from the representations on the monuments of South Russia, on the reliefs of Pergamum, and on Trajan's column.<sup>7</sup> Sarre and Herzfeld declare that on some of the Sassanian reliefs scale armor is used for the body of the warrior, ring armor for the arms and legs.<sup>8</sup> In all these representations, the rings are small, and are linked together in chains running about the body. The common opinion is, however, that the chains were attached to a backing of cloth or leather. Thus the corselets in manufacture were closely related to the earlier and more common type of scale armor, for the scales like the rings were attached to the pieces on either side, then fastened to the backing beneath. It was the backing which in both cases kept the bands properly placed in relation to bands or chains above or below.

But the Dura corselet shows no trace of any backing behind the links. Furthermore, careful cleaning of some of the better preserved portions has revealed not only two links running through a third to make the chain, but four links running through a fifth, to connect the chain of links with those above and below. The chains of links ran horizontally around the body and the method of interlocking between chains was apparently to cause alternate links to pass through two in the chain above, thus making a very close network and causing all the rings to lie flat on the body. Because, however, the rings were linked vertically as well as horizontally we must place the piece in the category of chain mail rather than of ring armor. For its affinities, then, one looks rather to the later monuments than to earlier reliefs.

Just one Sassanian monument depicts a corselet similar to our own. This is the famous statue of Chosroes II,<sup>9</sup> in which the warrior is repre-

<sup>7</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, pp. 169, 204; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums* (1889), Vol. II, Fig. 1433; W. Froehner, *Col. Traj.*, Pls. 3, 9, 11, 14, 15, etc.

<sup>8</sup> Sarre und Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, p. 74.

<sup>9</sup> F. Sarre, *Die Kunst*, Pl. 85.



sented in complete corselet of chain mail. The links of the corselet are minute and the corselet fits snugly to the body. A second piece of the same armor reaches up to cover all the face but the eyes. It was just this type of close fitting armor, reaching up even to cover the face, that seems to have made such an impression on Ammianus Marcellinus. His description (XXV, 1, 12, Clark's ed.) *erant autem omnes catervae ferratae, ita per singula membra densis (lamminis) tectae, ut iuncturae rigentes compagibus artuum convenirent, humanorumque vultuum simulacra, ita capitibus diligenter aptata, ut imbratteatis corporibus solidis, ibi tantum incidentia tela possint haerere, qua per cavernas minutas, et orbibus oculorum adfixas, parcius visitur, vel per supremitates narium angusti spiritus emittuntur*, does not mention the rings of chain mail, and may refer only to the scales of the *lorica squamata*; it does however fit very closely the type of armor worn by Chosroes as represented on the sculpture at Taq-i-Bustan. It may well be then that it is to a type of chain mail to which Ammianus refers.

Laufer in a very excellent article on defensive armor<sup>10</sup> sums up the early evidence for ring armor and chain mail.<sup>11</sup> Chain mail was imported into China in the first half of the eighth century A.D. apparently from Persia.<sup>12</sup> Still earlier than this the relief of Chosroes gives us an example in the seventh century (*circa* 620 A.D.). The account of Ammianus is two hundred and fifty years earlier still. Without archaeological support for the existence of chain mail at this period it is impossible to assume that Ammianus refers to the new type of armor. The Dura find, however, proves that chain mail had been in use at least a hundred years earlier. There is good reason for believing, therefore, that some at least of the Sassanian cataphracts were clad in this new type, and to this assumption, the astonishment and careful description of Ammianus lends considerable weight. At Dura finds of various kinds of scale armor are common, only one piece of chain mail has thus far come to light. The chain mail may, therefore, have been invented by the Sassanians. It must always have been very much more expensive than scale armor and at least at first used only by the most wealthy. We may say, at any rate, that this example of chain mail at Dura proving its use in the middle of the third century A.D. gives us the earliest evi-

<sup>10</sup> B. Laufer, *Prolegomena on the History of Defensive Armor*, Field Museum of Natural History Publication 177, Anthropological Series, Vol. XIII, No. 2, Chicago, 1914.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 234 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 246.

dence of its adoption in the armor of warriors. As such it strongly supports Laufer's contention that the invention of chain mail was made in Iran, it probably explains more satisfactorily the description of Ammianus, and it supplies a most important item to our knowledge of the history of defensive armor as a whole.<sup>13</sup>

### *Tools.*

One most interesting piece of metal deserves special mention. This is a flat piece of iron 0.11 m. long narrowing gradually from 0.065 m. to 0.055 m. One would believe it to be merely part of a sword blade were it not for the fact that both sides are saw-edged. In fact it may be a portion of a double-edged sword, with the sides toothed for jagged cuts. It seems better at present, however, to accept it as part of an iron saw with double edge. The piece is much oxidized and the original size of the teeth cannot be accurately determined. At present they are not more than a millimeter or two in length.

### III. PARTHIAN RELIEFS AND FIGURINES

1930.537. Found in room K of the house of the priests. Crudely fashioned terra cotta figurine of horse and rider. The rider is armed with two shields one on each side of the horse, both fashioned in the same manner with large boss. The figurine as it stands is 0.11 m. by 0.04 m. (Pl. XIII, 1.) As the photograph shows, the representation is much mutilated, the nose, ears, and legs of the horse as well as the head of the rider having been lost. The portions of the legs remaining suggest that they ended in short stumps. The stumpy tail has been rendered in the round, the mane simply indicated by four incisions across the back of the neck. Horse and rider are quite disproportionate in size, the horse being so much larger that the legs of the rider extend only to the belly. Even so the legs are far too long for the insignificant body and arms of the individual. Beneath the right arm of the rider a lump of clay with slight depression on the top represents probably the quiver of the warrior. Beneath the left arm a thin band of clay curving back to the body of the horse suggests the cloak or tunic of the rider. Characteristic of Parthian work it is in that though both parts of the representation are crudely done, the horse is modeled with very much more strength and spirit than the rider.

<sup>13</sup> For chain mail in India and literary evidence of this armor under the Sassanians, cf. A. V. W. Jackson in *Classical Studies in Honor of Henry Drisler*, p. 117.

Roughly modeled figurines of horses, and horses with riders are very common on the sites of Mesopotamia and of Syria. They are particularly common in Parthian levels, appearing in many graves of the Parthian period at Nippur, and in some numbers in Babylon. The small shield appears to be a distinguishing mark between those of purely Parthian type, and those of the Syrio-Parthian designs for, as far as I know, no horseman figurines bearing a shield have been found in the lower Mesopotamian Valley, whereas in Syria and Palestine the shield, though not always borne by the horseman, appears not infrequently and becomes almost the rule.

At Dura, the common type of shield found is the light oval type made of wood covered with leather. On the frescoes of the Palmyrene temple, however, the gods are represented carrying shields of small, round type, such as we find represented on this figurine. The figurine gives us a good example of the cavalry use of this type, a use we should have suspected in any case, for Palmyrene horsemen<sup>14</sup> as well as Palestinian horsemen are found with shields of just this description. The representation of two shields, one on either side, is probably to be ascribed to the desire for symmetry, or the wish to have the shield appear from whichever side the observer viewed the figurine. The figurine of a Parthian horseman in the Semitic Museum of Harvard University (illustrated in *Rep. II*, Pl. XXIV, 1) shows a small round shield with central boss, carried attached to the saddle. The type of shield is therefore very similar to our own as is also the manner of carrying it, for our horseman's arm, though very sketchily drawn, is represented clearly far above the shield itself. The chief difference between the two in this respect lies in the fact that the Palestinian shield is carried farther forward over the horse's neck, while the Dura shield is directly over the rider's leg. For the shield itself with the depression around the boss an exact parallel is furnished by a coin of Ascalon illustrated in the excellent article of Ronzevalle<sup>15</sup> in *Aréthuse*.

We have the explicit statement of Cassius Dio that the Parthians despised the shield,<sup>16</sup> a statement well borne out by the lack of shields in the numerous terra cotta figurines of Parthian horsemen from lower Mesopotamia. On the other hand the Scythians of South Russia com-

<sup>14</sup> Chabot, Pl. XXII; Ingholt, Pl. VII, 2.

<sup>15</sup> S. Ronzevalle, "Hélioseiros," *Aréthuse*, Fasc. 26, 1<sup>er</sup> Trimestre (1930), p. 6, Fig. 1; cf. Pl. III, 1-18.

<sup>16</sup> Cass. Dio XL, 15.



monly used a shield, sometimes oblong in form with rounded corners, sometimes crescent shaped, sometimes thin round targes of iron, as Minns says, "small and suitable for use on horseback."<sup>17</sup> In most particulars, moreover, the Scythian dress and armor was exactly similar to that of the Parthians. For the general representation of the *clibanarius* or *cataphractarius* we can probably refer to some of the frescoes and bas-reliefs of South Russia as well as the reliefs on the Column of Trajan.<sup>18</sup> The *Spangenhelm* helmet is common to both races,<sup>19</sup> and Plutarch mentions especially the Scythian method of hairdress adopted by all the Parthians in the Battle of Carrhae except Surena.<sup>20</sup> It would not be surprising, therefore, if at least part of the Parthians were equipped like the Scythians with the round horseman's shield. Furthermore we know that this same small horseman's shield, though at a considerably later period, was adopted by the Sassanians, for the bas-relief of Chosroes II at Taq-i-Bustan shows us the monarch on horseback carrying spear and small round shield.<sup>21</sup> Not improbably, therefore, the Parthians of the Dura period, at least those operating in Syria, had adopted the local type of defensive weapon. If we postulate that the Palmyrenes borrowed largely from the Parthians in dress and armor, we must recognize also the probability of a corresponding influence exercised by Palmyrenes on Parthians, good proof of which is furnished by the bas-relief of Chosroes. For our own figurine, therefore, we should accept the term Palmyrene, though with the reservation that it may represent a purely Parthian rider. Certainly the very crude representation of the terra cotta is much more closely akin to the rude Parthian work of the lower Tigris-Euphrates Valley, than it is to the more polished work of western Syria.

1930.538. Found in room K of the house of the priests. Clay plaque of roughly elliptical form, 0.085 m. by 0.05 m. (Pl. XIII, 2.) The back is roughly fashioned with the hand. On the front a border is made by an incision, making a frame around a field 0.067 m. by 0.035 m. In this field is represented in low relief a man in Persian cos-

<sup>17</sup> E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, 1913), p. 73.

<sup>18</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *Ancient Decorative Painting in South Russia* (1913), p. 309, esp. pp. 328 ff. Atlas, Pls. 78-79; W. Ginters, *Das Schwert der Skythen und der Sarmaten* (1928), pp. 75 ff.; cf. *Rep. II*, p. 196.

<sup>19</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 338, cf. *Rep. II*, p. 197.

<sup>20</sup> Plutarch, *Crassus* 24.

<sup>21</sup> G. Rawlinson, *The Seven Great Monarchies* (New York, 1884), Vol. III, Pl. XLII; F. Sarre, *Die Kunst*, Pl. 85.

tume, facing front, with sword in belt. The features of the face are indistinguishable but one can remark the characteristic egg-shaped, almost conical appearance of the head, and the hairdress of nimbus form around the head. The left hand of the individual clasps the belt of the sword, the other is partly broken but represented certainly as extended to the right; the feet point right and left in conventional style. Trousers of heavy material (as the still visible pleats show) cover the legs; above, the body is clad in a close-fitting tunic of the same material which flares below the waist and ends in a semicircular cut. Above the left shoulder a round ball is clearly depicted. Above the right shoulder a depression has been made running from above the head to the right hand. The dress, at least, had formerly been colored green and very probably the whole representation had been covered with green glaze.

An excellent parallel to many details of the design on this molded plaque is furnished by a fragment of bas-relief found by M. Cumont in the excavations of 1924.<sup>22</sup> The bas-relief depicts a soldier with the same type of headdress and costume, grasping the hilt of his sword in his left hand, his right extended to hold the shaft of a lance. The sword is placed in so nearly the same position, the body and head are represented in a manner so similar to that in our own model, even the position of the right hand is so nearly akin to our own, that both would seem to have been drawn by the same artist. Cumont compares the bas-relief to a mold for a terra cotta relief purchased by Sarre in Aleppo.<sup>23</sup> In one respect this terra cotta representation is even more similar to our own, for above the left shoulder is depicted a round ball, there shown with the rays of a star or sun. In the plaque of Sarre, however, there is a second figure, that of a goddess, standing beneath a canopy, toward whom the warrior points. It is not entirely clear in our terra cotta whether the outstretched right hand grasped a spear or was extended simply to point to the right, for the right side of the representation is broken away. No indication however of a spear is observable in what remains, and it seems more reasonable to compare it with the gesture of Sarre's warrior.

Part of an altar, to be discussed below, found at Dura in the 1929-30 campaign supplies a figure somewhat analogous to the terra cotta plaque. It is the figure of a warrior, crudely cut in the gypsum stone, whose left hand rests on his sword and whose right either grasps a spear or points

<sup>22</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 265, Pl. XCIX, 1.

<sup>23</sup> Sarre und Herzfeld, *Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, IV, Pl. CXLII, No. 4; Sarre, *Die Kunst*, Pl. 65.

to a second figure unfortunately missing. The head in this case is circled by a turban and the drawing is far inferior to the work on the terra cotta plaque but it is evident that all these figures must be assigned to the same general category.

Further parallels for the type of costume as a whole M. Cumont finds in a bas-relief of the god Genneas now in the Louvre,<sup>24</sup> and M. Mouterde<sup>25</sup> in the bas-relief of a warrior horseman from the region of Aleppo. Both figures are dressed in the Parthian fashion and both have the characteristic dressing of the hair, the locks circling the head, like a nimbus, as M. Mouterde says. The same type of hairdressing, as M. Mouterde points out,<sup>26</sup> is not uncommon at Palmyra.<sup>27</sup> Both M. Cumont and M. Mouterde conclude therefore, that this is the costume of the Palmyrene warrior, a costume taken over to a large extent from the Parthian.<sup>28</sup>

The representation of the god Genneas in this costume lends strong support to this theory and certainly many figures from the west Euphrates district may well fall within such a category. On the other hand it is well to remember that it was the true Parthian who introduced the costume and who retained it most tenaciously. Particularly valuable is the evidence from Dura for there the Parthian held the government for a long period. Dura Parchment X mentions the *arcapat*, and if he did not have his residence in Dura itself, at least he was in control of the district, and his soldiers must have formed a large part of the garrison within the strong walls of Dura. When, therefore, the representations of warriors in Parthian costume are found, the presumption is strong that at least some are the soldiers or officers from the Parthian garrison itself, not merely Palmyrene, or local warriors dressed in the Parthian fashion. The terra cotta plaque of the 1929-30 campaign, shows a warrior in complete Parthian dress. Furthermore the type of hairdressing is perfectly paralleled by that of the recumbent figure represented on the

<sup>24</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 271; Heuzey, *Comptes rendus Acad. Inscr.*, 1902, pp. 192 ff.; Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil arch. or.*, V (1903), pp. 154 ff.; Dittenberger, *O.G.*, 637.

<sup>25</sup> P. R. Mouterde, "Dieux cavaliers de la région d'Alep," *Mélanges*, XI (1926), 309 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 316.

<sup>27</sup> S. Ronzevalle, *Comptes rendus* (1903), pp. 280-281; Chabot, Pl. XIX, 2; S. Ronzevalle, *Al-Machriq*, XIII (1911), pp. 307-309; H. de Villefosse, *Bull. des Antiquaires de France*, p. 169; G. Mendel, *Musées impériaux ottomans, Cat. des sculpt.*, III, 613 ff., No. 1404; *Baalbek*, II (1923), p. iii, Fig. 172.

<sup>28</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 272-273; Mouterde, *Mélanges*, XI (1926), 316, 17.



Parthian statuette now in the British museum,<sup>29</sup> and is probably similar to the Scythian method characteristic of the Parthian warriors in the battle of Carrhae.<sup>30</sup> Finally, the representation of star or sun over the shoulder, though appearing in the tesserae of Palmyra<sup>31</sup> seems to have had its origin at this time in the Parthian center in Mesopotamia, as the coin-types of the first centuries B.C. and A.D. show.<sup>32</sup> We are therefore drawn at every point toward the Parthian center rather than the Palmyrene for analogies to our terra cotta relief and as Professor Rostovtzeff suggests<sup>33</sup> probably even in the god Genneas we may see strong Irano-Anatolian as well as Syrian-Anatolian elements.

At first sight the representation of the star or sun over the left shoulder would seem to pronounce the terra cotta figure the portrait of a celestial being. The analogous figure of the Parthian warrior on the altar, however, represented also with a star scratched above his shoulder, has besides the star the last part of two proper names scratched beside the head; and the endings of these names, one in the nominative, the other in the genitive case, make it clear that they represented the names of an individual and his father, not the name of a divinity. This suggests that the celestial sign is merely a symbol perhaps associating the individual especially with certain divinities. More certain does this become when we examine Sarre's terra cotta relief once more, for in this latter case the representation is plainly of an individual consigning himself to the special protection of the god. The divinity is represented beneath a canopy, seated on a throne or chair obviously removed from her worshiper who points toward her with right hand, or raises it in adoration. Yet here, too, the devotee has the celestial sign above the shoulder. One would not wish for stronger confirmation of Hugo Prinz's contention that these celestial signs from early times were associated with heroes and with gods other than those especially connected with the heavens.<sup>34</sup> Nor is it wise to assume with Mouterde that the hair falling about the head forms a sort of nimbus in itself and so tends to reveal the divinity.<sup>35</sup> The horsemen of Mouterde may well be divinities, but the

<sup>29</sup> Representation in *Rep. II*, Pl. XXV, 3.

<sup>30</sup> Plutarch, *Crassus* 24.

<sup>31</sup> Chabot, p. 132, 3.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. my article on "Palmyrene Gods at Dura-Europos," *J.A.O.S.*, LI, No. 2, 119-137.

<sup>33</sup> *Rep. II*, p. 200. For the cut of the dress represented in the plaque, cf. Sarre und Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Taf. III, p. 39, figure marked *Armina*.

<sup>34</sup> Hugo Prinz, *Altorientalische Symbolik* (Berlin, 1915), pp. 124-125.

<sup>35</sup> Mouterde, *Mélanges*, XI, 311.

representation of the hair arranged in this fashion, paralleled not only among the Dura terra cottas but also by the hairdress of the priests in Cumont's fresco IV and by purely Parthian figurines, cannot be of special significance except to show the Parthian influence.

We have, then, in the terra cotta plaque, probably the votive dedication of a Parthian warrior, the plaque representing the warrior himself, and offered to the divinity. All traces of individuality in this particular plaque have long since been rubbed away. It is probable, however, that no attempt at individual characteristics was attempted, but that the warrior was represented merely in the strongly conventionalized Parthian fashion. Perhaps the very strength of Parthian convention decreed that the celestial symbol be placed over the shoulder as it was not infrequently in the coin portraits of the king from the time of Orodes I.<sup>36</sup>

### *Altar.*

1930.321. Altar of gypsum found inside the city north of the southwest bastion.

Three sides carved in relief. (Pl. XI, 2; Pl. XII, 1, 2.)

The altar stands 0.46 m. in height with a base measurement of 0.185 m. by 0.17 m. The top has been so chipped away by the vicissitudes of time as to leave it very roughly modeled, and to obliterate all traces of the basin for offerings or for fire sacrifice which probably adorned its top. Five centimeters above the bottom a projection has been made by cutting away the face above and below to make a ledge 0.025 m. high. This ledge sometimes projecting as much as 0.033 m. runs around all four sides of the altar (though in the back its projection is considerably reduced) and marks off the base proper of the altar from the sculptured reliefs of the faces above. Apparently the base of the altar had been sunk in the ground up to this projecting ledge, for the sides of the base were carelessly finished. The altar had also been intended to stand against a wall, for only three sides were sculptured. Fragments of plaster proved that at some time this material was used to secure it to the wall, but the use of this plaster might well have been a considerable time after the first erection of the stone. Immediately above the ledge an incision is made in the face of the stone, an incision which corresponds to an incision near the top of the altar, these two parallel incisions framing as it were surfaces, the one on the front 0.315 m. by 0.22 m., the two on

<sup>36</sup> Gardner, *The Parthian Coinage* (London, 1877), p. 40.

the sides 0.315 m. by 0.21 m. On these three sides reliefs are cut as follows:

Front face. (Pl. XI, 2.) The figure of a man 0.26 m. high faces front and grasps with the left hand (three fingers of which are represented) the neck of a lion. The right hand is raised and grasps the hilt of a sword which extends almost vertically beside the head. The man is bearded (the beard represented by incised vertical lines) and it is possible to discern eyes and mouth in spite of the crumbled condition of the stone. The hair apparently half circles the head in a wide band increasing the triangular appearance of the head, and enhancing the grotesque effect which the large size of the head, in proportion to the narrow shoulders and small waist, gives to the representation as a whole. The legs are shown in profile, the left advanced and slightly raised. The figure is apparently naked though a close-fitting tunic and trousers may have adorned the body. Possibly the projection beneath the right arm represents a mantle falling from the shoulders behind. The lion, held off by the left hand of its antagonist, is represented in profile as resting on its left hind leg and raising its right hind leg toward the knee of its opponent. The forepaws, poorly represented, the right portrayed beneath the left, touch the side of the man just beneath the ribs. A portion of the tail remains curling up beside the hollow of the back. The shaggy mane is marked with incised lines, suggestions of the eyes and ears are still visible, and the open mouth apparently discloses the tongue. Above the lion a branch and lozenge-shape leaves are cut. Traces of red paint in the field suggest that the outlines of the sculpture were sharpened by a colored field. The style of art with large head and emaciated body is characteristic of crude Parthian work as shown by the reliefs on slipper coffins.

It is most interesting to find this scene on an altar obviously of the Parthian period at Dura, for it reminds us at once of the representations of Gilgamesh fighting the lion, so common on Babylonian monuments. A rectangular slab of red clay from the British Museum presents in low relief a good example of this type.<sup>37</sup> That this design was taken over by the Persians, is evident from the cylinder seals. Details of dress were, of course, changed, and the figures of animals and men generally are stouter and less agile appearing than those of the Babylonian seals. Our own representation falls into the large class which was the most popular

<sup>37</sup> Woolley, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1926), p. 708, Pl. XIII, Fig. 27= Van Buren, *Clay Figurines*, No. 1002, p. 206, Fig. 253.



under the Persian *régime*. "The chief design," writes Ward, "is that of a god or hero, the Assyrian cross between a Gilgamesh and a Marduk, fighting a lion or other naturalistic or mythological animal; but the lion was the favorite."<sup>38</sup> Ward's designs, Figs. 1105 and 1107, p. 336, show the Persian hero crowned and armed with short sword, holding the rampant lion off with his left hand while he prepares to strike a sword blow with the right. The Yale altar portrays the hero apparently uncrowned but with long hair circling the head in the Scythian manner (see above, p. 84). The right hand is raised rather than held low in the Persian style, the hero faces the front as in some of the Babylonian designs, rather than facing the lion as is more common among the Persian seals. The workmanship is crude and the whole conception of the body, half in profile, half front, the very large head out of proportion to the rest of the body, and the extremely narrow shoulders, all reflect characteristics of the crude Parthian style. The branch of the tree with its lozenge-shaped leaves may perhaps be paralleled by the representation on a Persian cylinder of the gnarled tree with rather similar leaves, a type of tree which Ward says is characteristic of Persian cylinders.<sup>39</sup> From the representation as we have it, it is impossible to tell whether the individual represented is a god, a hero, a king, or a Parthian subject. Even the place of the encounter as wooded ground, may not be postulated with complete certainty from the presence of the tree limb, since such representations of trees characteristic of the whole class of cylinders may have a special symbolic significance of their own. Since, however, the scene is of a conventional type whose antecedents portrayed god or hero in the Babylonian period, and a crowned hero or king in the Persian epoch, the presumption is strong that a similar god or hero is portrayed on the present stone.

In the spring campaign of 1928<sup>40</sup> a bas-relief representing Heracles fighting a lion was found in a private house in Dura. The work is Graeco-Roman, the hero portrayed as nude and brandishing the club in his right hand. In spite of the differences due to different periods and workmanship, the representations are startlingly similar. In both the hero gazes steadfastly to the front, apparently ignoring the formidable opponent by his side, in both the right hand is raised grasping the weapon which is portrayed beside the head, the Parthian warrior clearly grasps a sword, Heracles naturally the club. In each case the lion is held

<sup>38</sup> Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, p. 336.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 338-339, Fig. 1130.

<sup>40</sup> *Rep. I*, Pl. IV, 3, and pp. 75 ff.

by the left hand of the hero, in the Parthian representation by the throat, in the other by the jaw. The Parthian relief shows all four feet of the lion, the two front feet extended near one another, one of the hind feet raised while the other rests on the ground. The Heracles group represents the forepaws together extended in front and the two hind legs on the ground. Sarre believes that the struggle of king and beast on Iranian monuments symbolically represents the conflict of greater powers and is related to the Zoroastrian belief of the struggle of good and evil.<sup>41</sup> It is into this group of monuments that not only the altar relief falls but also the Graeco-Roman relief of Heracles. Professor Baur has pointed out that the rendering of the scene of Heracles and the lion, as portrayed on the Heracles relief is unique in Graeco-Roman art.<sup>42</sup> This is obviously because the story of Heracles and the lion, so common in Greek sculpture, has here borrowed largely an Iranian dress. From the Babylonian-Iranian conception have been borrowed the frontal position of the hero, the position of the club, and the posture of the lion. From the Greek side have come the manner of hairdressing and the more careful modeling of the human form. On the whole the Heracles relief is a splendid example of an Iranian conception translated into Greek expressions. Such Greek adaptations testify to the popularity of the theme as a whole, for which popularity, part at least of the reason must be the wider conception underlying the theme, just as Sarre suggests. It is more than probable that because Heracles fitted so admirably into this cycle of belief in the eternal struggle of good and evil, he became so popular in the East during the Parthian period.<sup>43</sup> Better proof of this supposition than that afforded by the two monuments at Dura, the Heracles relief mirroring in Greek dress the Iranian conception of the altar, could scarcely be asked. On the other hand, the Heracles monument translating our Parthian altar into clear Greek characters probably gives us the best explanation of this earlier scene, and we may accept the altar-relief on that account with more certainty as a hero-god, representative of the forces of good overcoming the lion, symbol of the forces of evil.

Side face (right). (Pl. XII, 1.) The left side of this face has been broken away, apparently purposely. The remaining portion depicts a man girt in the tunic and trousers of the Parthians facing front. His

<sup>41</sup> Sarre, *Die Kunst*, p. 13.

<sup>42</sup> *Rep. I*, p. 75.

<sup>43</sup> See the coin types of Armenia, Babelon, *Les Rois de Syrie*, Pl. CCIII; Heracles on the monument of Antiochus I of Commagene, Dittenberger, *O.G.*, I, 591 f.; a second representation of Heracles at Dura, *Rep. I*, p. 19, Fig. 5, etc.

left hand clasps the top of a sword fastened to his belt and reaching along his left leg almost to the knee. His right arm is extended but the break in the stone allows only the upper part to the elbow to be shown. The hair is apparently caught up in a turban. Beneath this the eyes are sharply cut, the mouth is made apparently with a single incision above which a wide mustache is drawn; perhaps other incised lines represented the beard. From the present condition of the stone, however, we can only be certain of the outline of the lower face, an outline which gives a decidedly angular impression. The tunic, close fitting over the narrow chest, is adorned with the same lacing ornaments down the middle, which characterize the seated relief of Hadad (see *infra*, pp. 101, 105 f.), then flares over the hips at the bottom. The quilt work of the baggy trousers is represented by small incised lines. Beside the right side of the turban is scratched a star (apparently six pointed) and just beneath are cut two lines of Greek letters, apparently the endings of names (see *infra*, p. 93). On the ledge beneath the face are inscribed more careful letters (*infra*, pp. 94 f.) only a part of which remain. The lower part of the figure was at some time covered with plaster, as the portions of plaster still visible between the legs show. Perhaps this was due to carelessness when the altar was fastened to the wall, possibly the whole figure was concealed. Traces of red paint beneath the right arm of the figure suggest that the whole field was colored.

Unfortunately the condition of the stone does not allow us to determine the position of the right hand. Comparisons with similar scenes, however, suggest that the right hand either held a spear as in the small bas-relief of Cumont<sup>44</sup> or more probably was simply raised to call attention to and at the same time to do homage to a divine figure as in the representation of Sarre and Herzfeld.<sup>45</sup> This last position seems to be that also of our own terra cotta relief (cf. above, pp. 84 ff.) though here the position is not quite clear. Such a raising of the right hand was the most common position at least in the presence of the deity. It goes back to the early period of Mesopotamian art as we see from the seal cylinders<sup>46</sup> and was taken over by the Persians, a good example being the representation of the magus standing with raised right hand beside an altar.<sup>47</sup> At Dura we find the same gesture exhibited by the youth of the

<sup>44</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, Pl. XCIX, 1.

<sup>45</sup> Sarre und Herzfeld, *Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, IV, Pl. CXL, 11, 4; Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 266.

<sup>46</sup> Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, p. 109.

<sup>47</sup> Flandin and Coste, Tome IV, Pl. 225.



Konon scene, by all the officers in the tribune fresco except the one performing the sacrifice, and even by two of the youths in the mythological scene.<sup>48</sup>

The headdress of the altar figure differs from the figures in the reliefs just mentioned, for the hair, instead of covering the head in a broad semi-circular mass, is caught up on top, increasing the triangular effect of the head as a whole. The closest parallel to this type of headdress is probably the headdress of Konon represented in the great fresco of the Palmyrene temple.<sup>49</sup> In the fresco the headdress is plainly a sort of turban covering the hair and confining it to the top of the head. If we are right in believing that the figure of the hero on the front face of the altar is represented with the hair circling the head, then we have in the Palmyrene frescoes a very good parallel for the types of headdress, for while Konon himself wears the turban, the series of figures in Cumont's *Tableau IV*<sup>50</sup> all wear their hair uncovered and circling the head.

That the figure represented on this right side of the altar is a man and not a god, seems probable because the personage has neither the rayed head of divinity nor is engaged in one of the conventional scenes of struggle through which we can often recognize the battles of divine powers. Furthermore scratched above the right shoulder are the ends of two words, above -ΑΙΟC and below -ΟΓΟV. Obviously we have here the name of the warrior represented, but the fact that a second name ending in the genitive case is included, makes certain the supposition that this is the representation of a man whose name was inscribed, with the name of his father, above the shoulder. Nor does the rude scratching of a star or sun beside the head confute this supposition, for we learn from the coins that such representations are common beside the heads of monarchs, and Sarre's relief depicts a sun or star above the left shoulder of one who is obviously the dedicant, not the god. (Cf. above the discussion of our terra cotta relief, pp. 86 ff.)

If the personage represented, however, is not a god there is strong probability (providing our interpretation of the position of the hand is correct) that the second figure which must have been represented on this side of the altar was a divinity. At any rate the right hand draws attention to the broken part of the scene, and the first detail that forces itself upon our observation is the fact that the stone has been deliberately cut,

<sup>48</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, Pls. XXXVIII, L, and XLVIII.

<sup>49</sup> Breasted, *Oriental Forerunners*, Pl. IX; Cumont, *Fouilles*, Pl. XXXII.

<sup>50</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, Pl. XLV.

not accidentally broken. Even the photograph reveals clearly that two cuts have been made, a hammer or chisel first being struck against the front edge of the altar about one-third way up in such a way that the surface of the right side of the altar was removed. The process was repeated for the upper part of the stone, thus removing completely all the left surface of the side. The work was carelessly done as the sharp surfaces remaining and the mutilation of the remaining figure show. The fact that one figure does remain, however, points to the fact that this mutilation of the stone was done deliberately to remove one part and only one part of the representation. It seems hardly possible that this section of the altar was removed merely to make more room for something to be moved in beside it. It might be, of course, that the figure was the representation of an emperor, or simply a citizen, perhaps represented in the same attitude as that of the figure remaining, and that later unpopularity led to the removal of the image. Much more probable, however, it seems to me is the supposition that originally a divinity had been depicted completing a scene very much like that of Sarre's bas-relief, i.e., a worshiper raising his right hand toward a divinity depicted in the left half of the representation. From this analogy one would expect that the divinity represented was the goddess of Sarre's relief, especially as Sarre's plaque may well have come from Dura itself. On the other hand, if the front of the altar represents a male divinity fighting a lion one might expect this same divinity to be represented on another side of the same altar. There is one other clue to a more satisfactory identification. On the slightly protruding ledge which makes the base and frame of the relief are cut the letters of an inscription, parts of which still remain. The letters are much larger and more carefully cut than the rudely scratched graffito beside the head of the figure and suggest that it was a name or names of special significance. Two letters are clear, a delta followed by an omicron just to the left of the center. After the omicron only the fragment of a letter remains but it is enough to suggest upsilon as most probable. Before the delta is a series of four letters none of which is clear. The letters Δου suggest at once the name of the city, and the presence of four letters in front makes very probable the interpretation of the inscription as a dedication to the Τύχη Δούρας, the most common form of dedication found in the excavations. Support for this is found in the character immediately before the delta, for it seems best interpreted as eta. The first three letters of the stone, however, seem to have the sharp angle of alpha or delta at the top rather than

suggestions of  $\tau\upsilon\chi$ . So fragmentary, however, are the strokes that identification is impossible.

If the dedication is to  $\tau\upsilon\chi\eta$ , it is quite probable that the representation would depict not this divinity as such, but one of the great goddesses of Dura, Artemis or Atargatis, in the rôle of  $\tau\upsilon\chi\eta$  or patron saint of the city. Cumont<sup>51</sup> has already pointed out that Atargatis at Palmyra as well as in other Syrian cities assumed the rôle of  $\tau\upsilon\chi\eta$  and the  $\tau\upsilon\chi\eta$  of Palmyra is painted with the lion, symbol of the Syrian goddess.<sup>52</sup> At Jerash on the other hand it was Artemis who was especially linked with  $\tau\upsilon\chi\eta$  as the inscription  $\text{Ἀρτεμις } \tau\upsilon\chi\eta \text{ Γεράσων}$  on the coins shows.<sup>53</sup> A very close association of Artemis-Nannaia and Nike at Dura seems proved from the discovery of Cumont<sup>54a</sup> of three representations of Nike in the temple of Artemis. Nike, however, as goddess of victory was but a short step removed from Tyche, goddess of Good Fortune, as Cumont has already pointed out (*Fouilles*, p. 198), a hypothesis confirmed by the Nike-Tyche shrine discovered in the Palmyrene Gate.<sup>54b</sup> It is very probable therefore that the Artemis of Dura like the Artemis of Jerash was regarded as embodying the Good Fortune of the city. Since the Parthian figure, so similar to our own, in the terra cotta relief of Sarre points to a goddess standing in an *édicule*, and since a  $\tau\upsilon\chi\eta$  seems the best interpretation of the fragments of inscription on the altar, i.e., the placing of the dedicant and his possessions under the divinity of Good Fortune, it seems most reasonable to suppose that the missing portion of our own altar represented also a figure of a goddess, probably portrayed like that of Sarre, and representing both the great patron goddess of Dura and  $\tau\upsilon\chi\eta$ .

The intentional disfigurement of the altar links it to that increasingly large group of monuments at Dura which at some period had suffered deliberate harm. Professor Rostovtzeff has already called attention to the fact that most of the monuments of the gate sanctuary had been smashed to pieces at a certain time.<sup>55</sup> Cumont had noticed similar conditions in the sanctuary of the Palmyrene gods. The altar of Nemesis shows careful repair after a complete break.<sup>56</sup> That this destruction took place after the reign of Alexander Severus, seems clear from the fact

<sup>51</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 111.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, Pls. L and LI, 1.

<sup>53</sup> *B.M.C.*, Arabia, etc., p. 31 and p. xxxv; Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 111.

<sup>54a</sup> *Fouilles*, pp. 219 ff., Pls. LXXXII, 3, and LXXXIV.

<sup>54b</sup> *Rep. II*, pp. 181 ff.

<sup>55</sup> *Rep. I*, pp. 59–60.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. IV, 1.



that the Nemesis altar was dated 228–229 A.D.<sup>57</sup> and that the mutilated stele in the Palmyrene temple had been dedicated to Alexander Severus himself. Professor Rostovtzeff believes that sometime after Alexander, Dura was sacked by enemies who hated both Romans and Palmyrenes. These could be none other than the Persians of Zoroastrian faith who abominated the Semitic religion.<sup>58</sup> This hypothesis would explain admirably the condition of our altar, for though the representation of the figure fighting a lion (a representation as Persian seals show, not objectionable to the Iranians) on the front face of the stone is left, and no care is taken to remove the figure of the Parthian on the right side, the figure of the god or goddess to whom that Parthian pays reverence has been all too successfully deleted. In this case it would have been the Semitic representation that was objected to by the Sassanians, a fact which suggests that Atargatis was the goddess portrayed rather than Nannaia, though the Syrian-Semitic garb of either would account sufficiently for its destruction at the hands of Sassanian fanatics.

Side face (left). (Pl. XII, 2.) Not far from the edge, on the right, rises the straight trunk of a tree 0.22 m. high from whose top palm-like leaves extend. These high leaves are grasped at by a camel which is represented in profile, its long neck outstretched. The stone allows only the forelegs, and front half of the body with part of the hump (besides the head and neck) to be shown. The hind legs were never drawn. Beneath the tree is cut the figure of a little man 0.12 m. high which covers the lower part of the trunk with his body. His right hand is raised, probably holding the halter of the camel. He faces front, wears a loose tunic which covers his body to the knees, and is depicted with his legs one on either side of the trunk. The features of the face are entirely obliterated. Beneath the camel's body is portrayed a wide round bush 0.054 m. high by 0.05 m. growing from a stem a centimeter high.

At least the bottom part of this face of the altar and the left side were later covered with plaster. Possibly the whole surface was covered for fragments of plaster still remain among the branches of the palm tree.

Two small wooden panels from Egypt depict eight gods all moving toward a central shrine.<sup>59</sup> The gods are apparently Syrian rather than Egyptian<sup>60</sup> and Professor Rostovtzeff associates them with the *σύνναοι θεοί* of the deity in the shrine. One of these deities, a beardless young

<sup>57</sup> *Rep. I*, p. 62.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>59</sup> P. Pagenstecher, *Arch. Anz.*, 1919 cols. 9 ff., Figs. 1–2.

<sup>60</sup> See Professor Rostovtzeff's discussion in *Rep. II*, pp. 184 ff.

figure, leads a camel whose head and forelegs are shown in the panel itself. With this analogy to the representation on the altar, it is possible to see in our figure leading a camel a representation of one of the young male warrior gods so often depicted both at Dura and at Palmyra. One bas-relief at Palmyra, a dedication to the gods 'Arsû and Azizû, actually shows us one of the deities seated on a camel.<sup>61</sup>

On the altar, however, the figure is so small in relation to the animal that its identification with a divinity seems scarcely possible. Unfortunately, the stone is so mutilated that if divine attributes have been added to identify the figure they are unrecognizable. Striking in any case, none the less, is the contrast between the proportionate size of man and beast compared with the proportion on the Egyptian panel, for on the latter the male figure of the god quite overshadows the diminished painting of the beast, whereas on our own the huge animal quite dominates the picture. Under the circumstances, it seems more probable to regard the figure as that of a slave, or a boy represented merely as holding the bridle of the camel.

That the camel is standing in a garden is clear from the representation of the palm tree toward which it raises its head, and by the careful relief of the low bush beneath its stomach. To me it seems that the figure of the slave boy is intended to convey the message that both camel and garden are the possession of a particular individual, in this case of course the master of the slave. We should assign with probability the presence of rich caravan leaders to both Dura and Palmyra even without the famous Palmyrene inscription which especially mentions such magnates.<sup>62</sup> It is such a one apparently who dedicates the altar at Dura, and it is more than likely that it is his figure which is portrayed on the right side of the altar, with the attributes of a Parthian noble.

If I am right in my interpretation of the altar as a whole, on the right side we see the man himself, his name scratched above the shoulder identifying the portrait, paying homage to a divinity and placing himself under its protecting care. This divinity might be any of the Syrian or Parthian deities found at Dura, but is one probably at least associated with Τύχη and most probably is the Τύχη Δούρας herself. On the left side of the altar the dedicant has represented his gardens and his caravan, or herd of camels, thus assigning them also to the special care of the god. On the front the scene most common in Persian reliefs is cut, a

<sup>61</sup> Chabot, Pl. XXII, 1; Ingholt, Pl. VII and pp. 42 ff.

<sup>62</sup> Chabot, p. 52. Inscription on column 11.

struggle between hero or god and a lion, probably an Iranian conception of the struggle between good and evil, though possibly here associated especially with the local Heracles. The altar might have been set up in a private house, more probably it was dedicated in a temple. In either case sacrifice to the god was offered on the top of the altar.

One cannot pass from this left side of the altar, however, nor from the altar as a whole, without remarking how close an analogy we have here, to characteristic Parthian and Persian art as a whole. The little figure of the slave boy, with the square cut tunic is closely paralleled many times by the figures hammered on the inside of the tower of the Palmyrene temple. With these male figures in the tower are portrayed female figures with a light band or veil floating from upraised hand to upraised hand above the head. Just such a figure as this last is depicted on a Parthian slipper coffin published by Sarre.<sup>63</sup> The whole series, therefore, with the altar figure can be associated with the crude Parthian style of the *faïence* coffins. The representation of a palm tree was common from Babylonian times; was taken over by the Persians, and our own representation may be compared with that on the famous cylinder seal of Darius<sup>64</sup> even though the altar representation does not portray the fruit hanging from its top. Even the bush is portrayed in that conventional style which marks the cypresses of Iranian work.<sup>65</sup>

In the other two sculptured faces of the altar, not only the style but the whole conception of the scene betrays the careful imitation of accepted designs, for the lion fight reproduces the common theme accepted by the Iranians from the Babylonians, and the Parthian nobleman follows the usual type of dedicant-worshiper. In the tower of the Palmyrene temple we have a second representation of a lion fight, the portrait of a god flanked by two lions, and representations of the lion alone. A small relief of Cumont portrays a dedicant very much like our own; one small clay plaque has a similar design and the relief of Sarre from Aleppo has a not dissimilar figure. These parallels show not only how closely were accepted designs followed, and how narrow was the range of conception in the Parthian period, but also how very widespread these conventionalities were in the Parthian epoch. Dura was far from the chief Parthian centers, it had a large Greek as well as a large Semitic population, yet more and more its monuments show us how dominant, at least for a period, were the Parthian conceptions. And if on that ac-

<sup>63</sup> Sarre, *Die Kunst*, Pl. 64.

<sup>64</sup> Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, p. 336, Fig. 1104.

<sup>65</sup> Sarre, *Die Kunst*, Pl. 26.



count the Dura remains bring to light little that is entirely new, they do offer us on the other hand a field for Parthian study which very much enriches our meager knowledge of this fascinating race.

There remains the problem of assigning a date to the altar. That it falls in the Parthian period is obvious, for every one of the features remaining on the faces of the altar is purely Parthian in conception and in detail. More definite allocation within that period at present is impossible except in a general way. We know that in the second half of the first century B.C. and especially in the first century A.D. the symbols of sun or star and moon were adopted on the royal Parthian coins. Allotte de la Fuye has shown that this recrudescence of earlier Babylonian symbols reflects the Babylonian influence rather than a direct carrying over of the Achaemenid symbols.<sup>66</sup> If this is so, then the scratched symbol, sun or star, above the right shoulder of the dedicant would tend to assign the representation to the same period. Furthermore if we may postulate for the last part of the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. a revival of Babylonian influence, then the representation of the struggle of hero or god and lion on the front of the altar would also tend to allocate the monument to this same period, for this struggle with the lion in many particulars parallels the Babylonian representations as opposed to the Persian. A relief in the British Museum assigned to 2250 B.C.<sup>67</sup> depicts the same frontal position of the hero, and the lion's tail curling up in the same manner behind the back quite in contrast to the profile of kings and the more extended lion's tail of the Persian cylinder seals.<sup>68</sup> Again then we can trace the recrudescence of Babylonian forms.<sup>69</sup>

Furthermore in those frescoes of the Palmyrene temple which were made in the second half of the first century A.D. some figures have the hair fluffed out and surrounding the head in a semicircular ring; Konon, on the other hand, had his caught in a round turban. On the altar the figure of the Parthian noble is clearly portrayed with turban;

<sup>66</sup> *Délégation en Perse, Recherches Archéologiques* (Paris, 1905), Tome VIII, p. 203.

<sup>67</sup> Van Buren, *Clay Figurines*, Fig. 253, and No. 1002, p. 206 (B.M., 103.378).

<sup>68</sup> Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, pp. 396 ff.

<sup>69</sup> From Dura also, i.e., from the tower of the Palmyrene temple, comes the graffito (*Rep. II*, Pl. XLIII) of a man fighting a lion which recalls so vividly a relief from Senkereh (2550 B.C.) now in the British Museum (Van Buren, *Clay Figurines*, 713, p. 149, Fig. 196). This graffito also is therefore to be assigned to the period when in the Parthian epoch old Babylonian influence was strongest.

the hero fighting the lion apparently has the loose hair circling the head. For these reasons I should assign the altar as a whole to the first century A.D. and more specifically to the last half, when presumably the representation of symbols of sun or star and moon had become common, and when the Konon fresco in the temple of the Palmyrene gods was painted. The arguments are scarcely conclusive, for the theme of hero and lion was apparently popular in all periods and we have insufficient evidence on which to judge the chronology of star symbols on monuments other than coins in the Parthian period. We may say, however, that at least the monuments we have of the latter part of the first century A.D. offer no difficulties to dating our altar in this period and that it is this period which best fits the details of the reliefs, as far as our knowledge of Parthian sculpture goes.<sup>70</sup>

#### IV. SCULPTURES

BY P. V. C. BAUR

##### 1. *The Monuments.*

During this season of work at Dura there was found in the open court of the temple of Atargatis a most remarkable and unique limestone relief (0.406 m. high and 0.28 m. wide) which represents Hadad and his consort Atargatis (Pl. XIV). Both are seated in front view on thrones with footstools in an aedicula with crude Ionic columns—the left one is missing—which support a horizontal cornice divided into four receding fasciae of equal height. The throne of Atargatis is flanked with very large and conspicuous lions, but only their heads with protruding tongues and forelegs stand out from the background. The goddess occupies two-thirds of the width of the aedicula. Hadad, much suppressed, is supposed to be flanked with bulls. There is, however, just enough room for one inconspicuous and small bull at the left of his throne; the head of the other one is naïvely placed on the shaft of the column over the lion. Over the right shoulder of Hadad, on the damaged column, are traces of the claws and body of an eagle. Between god and goddess in the background is a peculiar object consisting of a central upright pole to which near the top a crossbar is fastened. From the ends of the crossbar are suspended streamers of cloth. That it is not a wooden framework is made evident by the one on the right which is flexible; it is pushed aside by the right arm of Atargatis. Since the lower ends of the streamers and of the central pole are concealed by the figures, it is im-

<sup>70</sup> See Addenda.

possible to know how the object was finished off below. It seems probable, however, that the pole reached the ground, and that the streamers were only about half as long. On the pole, a little below the crossbar, are attached three disks, each one surrounded by a circle; the lower disk which is larger than the other two is quartered by diagonally crossed lines. The tip of the pole carries a crescent. That the whole object is a banner may be inferred from its appearance. We shall recur to it later.

Atargatis wears a chiton with long sleeves, and just below her breasts a broad girdle so fastened in front that its ends, which are decorated with tassels, hang almost to her lap. Her skirt, which flares out on either side, ends in points; and between her legs hangs a heavy and stiff fold, also ending in a point. She wears shoes. Her jewelry consists of a necklace with a disk-shaped pendant, pendent globular earrings, and bracelets. On her head she wears a royal crown decorated with zigzag lines forming rays. In the left fist is bored a hole for an attribute, perhaps a spindle; the elbow of the right arm which is close to the body is sharply bent and the palm of the hand is turned outward in a gesture of blessing. The hair is parted in the middle and is combed up and then back in parallel strands over her ears. She probably wore a long braid in Hittite fashion down her back. Her eyes are abnormally large, the lids plastically accentuated, her mouth exceedingly small, her nose angular and misshapen.

Hadad wears a tight-fitting tunic which reaches almost to the top of his boots. It seems to be laced down the front, although what appears to be lacing may be a decoration of the upper part of his tunic, such as is found occasionally on the dress of the Parthians. A cloak fastened over his chest hangs down his back. He, too, has a conspicuous and stiff fold between his knees. The folds of the drapery over legs and arms are crudely indicated by incised parallel lines. Similar folds are also on the arms of the goddess. Hadad wears a heavy beard and a mustache; his hair is combed down in tufts over his forehead, and his head is crowned by a high cylindrical-shaped polos which is striated diagonally. He, too, held an attribute in his left fist, perhaps a thunderbolt, and in his right hand he holds a bundle of wheat to indicate that he is the protector of crops. His eyes are quite as large as those of his consort. The flat, angular, and wedge-shaped nose, and the small, tightly closed mouth are like those of Atargatis. There is no color preserved except traces of blue on the shoes of Atargatis. Neither the donor nor the exact place of its erection in the court of the temple is known.



We shall defer the question of date and style for the present, especially since two more monuments of the same date and style have been found in last season's dig at Dura. I refer to a most peculiar male head of soft limestone (Pl. XV, 1; Pl. XVI, 1), and a female bust (Pl. XVII). The former was found on the street just outside the sanctuary of Atargatis, the latter in the sanctuary of Artemis.

The male head including the neck is 0.17 m. high; the head without the neck, 0.14 m. high, and 0.10 m. broad. He wears a mustache and beard, and has curly hair. The heavy eyebrows are incised with parallel curved lines almost at right angles to the upper eyelid. The large eyes slope downward, the pupils are painted black and are surrounded by an incised circle. The mustache consists of a number of sections, each one with its own peculiar geometric pattern. The beard starts immediately below the tight lips of a rather large mouth and is parted in the middle of the chin. Most remarkable is the stylization of the curly hair. In front the curls all but conceal the forehead; on the left side of the head the curls are rows of continual scroll pattern; on the right side they are a bunch of single curls starting from a common point; in back the scrolls are merely blocked out and left unfinished. The head was evidently so set up that the back of the head was not visible. The tip of the nose is broken off; what remains of the bridge is flat and angular, like that of Hadad in the relief. The red of the lips and the black paint of the pupils of the eyes are well preserved. There are also traces of red on the neck. Below the neck is still visible on one side the raised border of drapery. The head evidently belonged to a draped statue.

The head of the female bust (Pl. XVII) was made separately; in fact, head and bust were first united in the Museum of Fine Arts, Yale University, where almost all of the Dura finds which fell to the lot of Yale are now on exhibition. A piece of cloth falls from her left shoulder. The conventional folds of her chiton radiate from the breasts exactly as they do on the dress of Atargatis in the relief. Both have their hair combed from the middle of the forehead in parallel tufts, but on the head in the round the hair borders the forehead so as to leave a triangular space free, and the ears are covered except for earrings of globular shape. As on the beard of the curly head her hair is made up of a number of sections. On the lips are traces of red color.

The closest analogy in style to these three monuments is found on Roman provincial works of Syria and of Asia Minor which belong to the third century of our era. It is, of course, mere chance that the largest number of parallels are found in northern Phrygia; they are now as-

sembled in the local Museum of Brussa, and have been catalogued and dated to the second half of the third century A.D. by Mendel.<sup>1</sup> Also from Phrygia comes a bearded head of Zeus Bronton (Pl. XV, 2; Pl. XVI, 2),<sup>2</sup> which is now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. Let us begin with the latter and compare it with our curly head.

The hair, beard, and mustache of Zeus Bronton are different, but the makers of both were fond of conventionalized scrolls, the one using them in the beard, the other in the hair. A very close connection is found in the low forehead, in the lack of depth of the eyesockets, and in the shape of the eyelids, which slope sharply downward from the inner to the outer corners. These characteristic peculiarities are especially marked in the profile views of both heads. On both, the nose is marred, but enough remains to show the angular outline of a broad and flat nose. The general effect of both faces is as if they had been cut with a knife rather than modeled with a chisel. This is especially noticeable in the sharply cut eyelids and mouth, in the clean-cut line bordering the mustache. The sharp demarcation of details and the lack of depth to the eyes are also characteristics of the archaic period in Greece, and remind us of the archaic poros sculptures of Athens. It is, however, in our case not so much the inability of an awkward stone mason as the method of work from the third century down, not only in northern Phrygia, but also throughout the Orient. The explanation of this close analogy between northern Phrygian and Syrian sculpture must be found not in any direct influence of the one on the other, but in the general tendencies of the times. The surface modeling which is so noteworthy in our heads is also found in early Byzantine art, and in early east Christian art in general. And yet even to one who is steeped in the beauty of Greek art there is in this barbarous style a certain power which he misses in the art of Greece. Our head breathes the spirit of eastern art, which is quite contrary to the spirit of Roman art in Rome. It is for that very reason

<sup>1</sup> *B.C.H.*, XXXIII (1909), 245 ff.; see also Rodenwaldt, "Zeus Bronton," *Jahrb.*, XXXIV (1919), 77 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The photographs here reproduced I owe to the kindness of Dr. Volbach and Mr. Dreyer. See O. Wulff, *Amtliche Berichte aus den kgl. Kunstsammlungen*, XXXIX. Jahrgang (Aug., 1918), pp. 238 ff., Fig. 85 a and b; Rodenwaldt, *loc. cit.*, p. 82, Fig. 4. Wulff dates this head of Zeus Bronton to the fourth or fifth century A.D.; I agree with Rodenwaldt (*loc. cit.*, p. 85) that it belongs to the third century of our era. The head of the bust of Zeus Bronton from Dorylaeion, now in the British Museum (*B.M.C. Sculpt.*, III, 3, No. 1521, illustrated in Cook, *Zeus*, II, 837, Fig. 794) bears stylistic resemblances to the Berlin head, although the folds of the bust differ from the Dura sculptures; it is also of the third century.

that we find so many marked similarities between our head and the heads of Roman emperors on the provincial coinage of the East, especially in the second and third centuries of our era. If we take, for example, the Phrygian coins<sup>3</sup> and compare them with our head, it becomes clear that the same tendencies are found in both, the same sloping eyes, the same surface effect in the modeling; everywhere a stylization purposely carried out to the most logical conclusion. On Roman provincial coins the heads of emperors are often difficult to identify. So, too, in the art of sculpture, portraiture is no longer naturalistic but purely ornamental.

The identification of the figure to whom our head belongs is, therefore, difficult. He may have been a priest of Hadad; he may just as well have been Hadad himself. Zeus Bronton, not only artistically, but also in ritual, is a close relative; he is the Thunderer and Storm-god of Phrygia<sup>4</sup> just as Zeus Hadad is the Thunderer and Storm-god of Syria. And we shall see in our study of Hittite art that there Adad is also represented with curly hair, although it must be admitted that other Hittite deities also have curls.<sup>5</sup> For all that, our curly head may be a direct descendant of the colossal curly-headed Adad from Senjirli discussed below (p. 130), for it is well known how tenaciously types hold their own century after century in the East.

There are also other analogies to our bearded head, especially close is a terra cotta head from Angora in the Antiquarium of Berlin<sup>6</sup> (Pl. XV, 3), and a head from Mesopotamia in the British Museum.<sup>7</sup>

It will be convenient to discuss the style and date of the relief of

<sup>3</sup> *B.M.C.*, Phrygia, Pl. XI, 5; Pl. XXXVIII, 8; similar examples could be multiplied easily.

<sup>4</sup> See Ramsay, *J.H.S.*, III (1882), 123 f., for the character of Zeus Bronton, and the cult connected with him. On a relief from Cyzicus, now in Istanbul, Zeus Hypsistos Brontaios holds lightning and scepter, and has an eagle at his feet (Mendel, *Cat. Sculpt.*, III, No. 842, cf. Nos. 843-845; Cook, *Zeus*, II, 834, Fig. 793). See also Cumont, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.*, s.v. *Bronton*; and Cook, *Zeus*, II, 833 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Snail-like curls are characteristic also for the Parthian and Sassanian periods (see Sarre, *Die Kunst*, Pls. 70-81), this style is a direct descendant of the time of Darius and Xerxes (*ibid.*, Pl. 27); Persian art in turn goes back to the influence of Assyrian art, which itself is dependent upon Hittite art. Eventually it all goes back to the Elamite period. See note 144 to p. 130, where other examples of snail-like curls are cited.

<sup>6</sup> Inv. 30062. Here reproduced through the courtesy of Professor Zahn. The curls of the Angora head are broken off, but mustache and beard have the same stylization.

<sup>7</sup> Lawrence, *B.S.A.*, XXVII (1925-26), 113 ff., Pl. XXIII. To my mind Lawrence



Hadad and Atargatis (Pl. XIV) and of the female bust (Pl. XVII) at one and the same time, for, on both, the hair and the folds of the chiton at the breasts are very similar. Another example of great similarity in style is the bust of the Moon-goddess, perhaps Anahit, from an arched gateway of the Parthian period at Hatra.<sup>8</sup> Again, the Parthian goddess standing before a shrine on a mold from Aleppo, in the possession of Sarre,<sup>9</sup> has not only the same arrangement of hair and folds of sleeves, but also makes the same gesture of blessing. On that same mold the folds of the trousers of the Parthian officer are not dissimilar to the folds around the legs of Hadad, and on a terra cotta statuette of a Parthian rider, also in Sarre's possession,<sup>10</sup> a similar treatment of folds on the sleeves is seen. Note also the same style of folds on trousers and sleeve on a silver statuette of a Persian in Berlin.<sup>11</sup> The style of our relief continues into the Sassanian period—witness the big eyes and small mouth, the peculiar parallel folds of drapery over arms and legs of the Sassanian king from the bronze handle of a vase in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, a Syrian ivory pyxis in Florence<sup>13</sup> shows in the three shepherds not only a similar arrangement of hair to that of our Atargatis, but also the peculiar straight band hanging between the knees. A straight fold similar to that between the legs of Hadad is found on a Palmyrene relief from Emesa in the Musée du Cinquante-naire, Brussels,<sup>14</sup> only there, on the figure of Keraunos, the fold is striated diagonally and looks like a separate ornament. In the description of the relief I was in doubt as to the meaning of the ornament down the middle of the upper part of Hadad's tunic. On the mold just referred to, the Parthian officer has a broad stripe down his tunic, and the terra

dates it too early; it probably belongs to the second, if not the third, century A.D., because of its marked similarity to the head of Zeus Bronton.

<sup>8</sup> Now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, see W. Andrae, *Hatra* (Leipzig, 1912), Pl. XXI; cf. H. Schmidt, *Berliner Museen, Berichte aus den Preuss. Kunstsamml.*, LII, Heft 1 (1931), p. 11, Fig. 1; p. 12, Fig. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pl. 65; Sarre und Herzfeld, *Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Pl. CXLII, 4; Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 266, Fig. 58. See below, p. 135, for the identification of this goddess with Anahit.

<sup>10</sup> Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pl. 54.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. 43; Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Pl. XV; *Illustrated London News*, Jan. 17, 1931, p. 90.

<sup>12</sup> Sarre, *op. cit.*, p. 52, Fig. 15.

<sup>13</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 88, Fig. 16.

<sup>14</sup> Chabot, Pl. XIX, 3; Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 132, Fig. 28; Dussaud, *Notes de mythologie syrienne*, p. 105, Fig. 27.

cotta slab of a Parthian soldier found at Dura<sup>15</sup> has a crossed decoration, all the way down his tunic, and an extra flap at the right upper border.<sup>16</sup> The graffiti of three Parthian archers on horseback have similar embroidery down the middle of their tight-fitting tunics;<sup>17</sup> whereas the graffito of a Persian king<sup>18</sup> has just a line with a few scrolls at the right and left in the same position. That this is embroidery and not the lacing of a garment which opens down the front is evinced not only by the Hittite relief of Teshub from Senjirli,<sup>19</sup> but also by the graffito of a young woman from the temple of the Palmyrene gods,<sup>20</sup> for there the central border extends not only all the way down, but continues on the lower hem of her garment. Professor Rostovtzeff<sup>21</sup> opines that the usual strap down the garment of the Parthian horsemen is probably of leather with stamped or pressed ornaments.

A very close resemblance to the hairdress, large eyes, angular nose, and small mouth of Atargatis is seen on the woman of a Syrian tombstone of the third century A.D. found at Alexandretta,<sup>22</sup> and the same characteristics occur not only on the large bust which decorates the rock-cut entrance to a tomb at Frikyâ,<sup>23</sup> but also on the head of a statuette in plaster found at Dura.<sup>24</sup> The earrings, hair, and drapery of the bust from Dura (Pl. XVII), the folds of the drapery of Hadad, the heads of his bulls, the rayed crown of Atargatis, the zigzag hem of her garment, the sharp contour of her eyes, and the manes of her lions find the very closest analogy in the reliefs from Brussa of the third century A.D.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, the drapery on the shoulders of our female bust is

<sup>15</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, Pl. XCIX, 1.

<sup>16</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 129, n. 2; Cumont calls this crossed decoration lozenge embroidery.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XCVIII, 1 and 2. On No. 1 the embroidery also extends to right and left above the central piece; Rostovtzeff, *Yale Art Bulletin*, Feb., 1930, p. 80, Fig. 5.

<sup>18</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, Pl. XCIX, 2.

<sup>19</sup> Garstang, *H.E.*, Pl. XLI, 1; *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, II, Pl. XLI, 1.

<sup>20</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 253, Fig. 53.

<sup>21</sup> *Rep. II*, p. 199.

<sup>22</sup> Cumont, *Ét. Syr.*, p. 48, Fig. 24; and on p. 186, Fig. 66, a head of Bacchus has the hair over the forehead arranged like that of Hadad.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54, Fig. 26; Butler, *Amer. Exp. to Syria* (1924), II, 278 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, Pl. LXXXIII.

<sup>25</sup> See *Jahrb.*, XXXIV, 79, Fig. 3 = *B.C.H.*, XXXIII, 294, Fig. 21 for the zigzag arrangement of drapery as on Atargatis, and the parallel folds of the drapery as on Hadad, cf. also *B.C.H.*, p. 291, Fig. 19; p. 293, Fig. 20 for arrangement of hair like that of our female bust; *Jahrb.*, p. 78, Fig. 2 for the earrings; Figs. 5, 6, and 7 for the sharp contour of the eyes; p. 84, Fig. 6 for the flat, angular nose and small mouth;

duplicated on the drapery of the bust of a woman represented on a sepulchral relief from Saloniki, Thrace.<sup>26</sup>

But in order to have a proper understanding of the character of Hadad and Atargatis, and to sense the meaning of the banner between them on our relief it is necessary to discuss fetishism in general, and to trace the development of the Earth-goddess and the Storm-god.

## 2. *Fetishism.*

Fetishism<sup>27</sup> plays a leading rôle in the beginning of all religions. A fetish may be an animate or inanimate object regarded by mankind with awe as having mysterious power inherent in it.<sup>28</sup> It is considered to be the embodiment or the occasional habitation of a spirit or god from whom, if properly appeased, supernatural assistance may be expected.

When the savage for the first time stubs his toe on a sharp stone he believes that the stone has supernatural power, and so it becomes an object of worship in the hope that never again may it harm him. This is perhaps the rudest manifestation of fetishism. A higher form is when the stone is hewn into some particular shape, and is set up on end as, for example, the mazzebah,<sup>29</sup> the omphalos at Delphi, or when rocks which bear some resemblance to human beings are chosen for worship.

The Syrians worshiped as fetishes precious stones which were sacred to Hadad: "Adadu nephros sive renes, ejusdem oculus, digitus; deus et hic colitur a Syris."<sup>30</sup> Lucian<sup>31</sup> tells us that precious stones decorated the

*B.C.H.*, p. 289, Fig. 18 = *Jahrb.*, p. 84, Fig. 6 for similar lions, cf. also *B.C.H.*, p. 324, Fig. 37; p. 291, Fig. 19 for similar bulls; *Jahrb.*, pp. 77 f., Figs. 1 and 2 for the rayed crown.

<sup>26</sup> See *B.C.H.*, XXXVII (1913), 105, Fig. 3.

<sup>27</sup> See Glotz, *La civilisation égéenne* (Paris, 1923), pp. 263 ff., and the English translation, *The Aegean Civilization* (1925), pp. 227 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie* (Leipzig, 1906), II, 2, pp. 171 ff., 199 ff., 221 ff., 283 ff.

<sup>29</sup> For a sacred column (mazzebah) recently found at Beisan, see Alan Rowe, *The Museum Journal* (Philadelphia, June, 1928), illustration to p. 149. See also Dalman, *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer*, p. 70, for Nabataean pillar-fetishes.

<sup>30</sup> Pliny *nat. hist.* XXXVII. 186, see also Babelon, Dar.-Sagl.-Pottier, *Dict.*, II, 2, p. 1461.

<sup>31</sup> Lucian *de dea Syria* 32. That the text is correct and should not be emended or interpreted to mean that the kestos was a girdle has been proved by Zahn in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Ramsay* (Manchester: at the University Press, London, New York, etc., 1923), p. 452, n. 3. (This reference I owe to the kindness of my



κεστός or fillet in the hair of the cult-statue of the dea Syria at Hieropolis, the ancient Mambog or Bambyce. In the same passage Lucian also mentions a precious stone, the lychnis,<sup>82</sup> on the head of the Syrian goddess. This, too, may have been a fetish.

Mountain tops,<sup>83</sup> often inaccessible to man and veiled in clouds, were the favorite abodes of the gods, also mysterious dark caves with stalactites and stalagmites were believed to be the abodes of spirits. Sacred springs and rivers having their sources in the mountains were particularly sacred to Semitic paganism.<sup>84</sup> Ponds, lakes, and wells were revered by the Syrians especially in connection with their great goddess. At Hieropolis there was a sacred lake in which sacred fish were kept.<sup>85</sup>

In fact all phenomena of nature may be worshiped as fetishes. Espe-

friend Professor Zahn.) In addition to the literary evidence analogies in art are cited by Zahn; especially apt is his reference to the coin in the *Cab. Méd.*, Paris (333-331 B.C.), which represents on one side the local Syrian dynast Abd Hadad of Bambyce, and on the other side the bust of Atargatis wearing the keston on her crown. This coin is often illustrated: Roscher, *Lex.*, I, col. 651; Strong and Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess*, p. 27, Fig. 5; Dar.-Sagl.-Pottier, IV, 2, p. 1591, Fig. 6698; Cumont, *Études syriennes*, p. 261, Fig. 92; Babelon, *Perses Achéménides*, No. 315, etc. Zahn also refers to the archaic Syrian bronze statuette, formerly in the Collection H. Hoffmann (Froehner, "La Collection H. Hoffmann, Sale Catalogue" (Paris, May, 1888), No. 367, Fig. on p. 94), but now in the Louvre. It is well illustrated after a photograph by Rostovtzeff, *A History of the Ancient World* (2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), Vol. I, Pl. LIV, 3. To these examples may be added a terra cotta half-figurine of Atargatis, *B.S.A.*, XIV, 190, Fig. 3; Dar.-Sagl.-Pottier, *Dict.*, IV, 2, p. 1591, Fig. 6699, where the keston is clearly visible on her head.

<sup>82</sup> For the lychnis see also Babelon, Dar.-Sagl.-Pottier, *Dict.*, II, p. 1465.

<sup>83</sup> "Of the mountain" is a common epithet of Syrian deities. Thiersch, *Zu den Tempeln und zur Basilika von Baalbek*, p. 14, cites Dombart, *Zikkurat und Pyramide*, pp. 61 ff., in this connection.

<sup>84</sup> See Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (Chicago, 1911), p. 116.

<sup>85</sup> Lucian *de dea Syria* 45; Pliny *nat. hist.* 32. 17; Aelian *de nat. an.* 12. 2. Also at Ascalon, Edessa, Smyrna, Aleppo, Doliche, and Tripolis there were ponds for sacred fish, see Seyrig, *Syria*, X, 330, n. 3 for references; also Harmon, n. 1, to the passage in Lucian. Cf. Cumont, *Études syriennes*, pp. 36 f., Fig. 9 (plan of sacred lake at Hieropolis). Hogarth, who visited Hieropolis, has published a photograph of the lake in *B.S.A.*, XIV, 188, Fig. 1. According to Hogarth there is still a sacred fishpond at Doliche. Furthermore a similar pond has been discovered at Rome on the Janiculum Hill in the sanctuary of the Syrian goddess (Gauckler, *Le Sanctuaire Syrien du Janicule* [Paris, 1912]; Cumont, Dar.-Sagl.-Pottier, *Dict.*, s.v. *Syria Dea*, p. 1592; and the excellent summary in Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* [Oxford Press, 1929], s.v. *Juppiter Heliopolitanus, Templum*). If the pond in the courtyard of the temple of Artemis at Dura contained sacred fish then the cult of Artemis must have been very similar to that of Atargatis.

cially awe-inspiring is the meteoric stone which suddenly drops from the heavens; it was considered to be a baitylos,<sup>36</sup> the dwelling of a god who was supposed to have fallen from heaven. Recall the black stone of Emesa, the *sol invictus* which Elagabalus brought to Rome,<sup>37</sup> the many baitylia at Hieropolis,<sup>38</sup> and the three sacred to the Arabian god Dusares at Bostra.<sup>39</sup>

Not only trees which afford cool shade on a hot day, or yield refreshing fruit, had become objects of worship at a very early period, but even wooden and stone pillars, the props of houses were held sacred. The pillars of the house were thought to contain magic power which insured the stability of the building.<sup>40</sup> The Assyrian tree of life had its prototype in the archaic period of Elam, as is attested by Elamite cylinders<sup>41</sup> dating to about 2900 B.C. Here the sacred tree is represented between two goats and over one of these animals soars an eagle with spread wings. The incarnation of the god of fertility<sup>42</sup>—in Elam the goat—is rendering homage to the spirit of vegetation. What the significance of the eagle may be in this early period is not at all certain, but there can be no doubt that it is a fetish, perhaps of a sky-god. On archaic Elamite pottery the eagle with spread wings seizing a bird is of frequent occurrence,<sup>43</sup> and in Hittite religious art the eagle is associated with the lion.<sup>44</sup> In Syria throughout the Roman period the eagle, king of birds,<sup>45</sup>

<sup>36</sup> See Schreiber in Roscher, *Lex.*, s.v. *Baitylos*; G. Hock, *Griechische Weihgebräuche*, pp. 33 f.

<sup>37</sup> For the baetyl of Emesa on Roman coins see G. B. Giovenale, *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, LVII (1929), 252, Fig. 42.

<sup>38</sup> See Tümpel in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real.-Enc.*, *Baitylia*, col. 2780.

<sup>39</sup> Hill, in *B.M.C.*, Arabia, etc., pp. xxvii f., Pl. IV, 12.

<sup>40</sup> Evans, "Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult," *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, XXI (1901), 99–204; Glotz, *The Aegean Civilization*, pp. 236 ff., Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, 224 ff.

<sup>41</sup> M. Pezard, *M.D.P.*, XII (1911), 99, Fig. 77; cf. also Fig. 78, and Pl. II, Fig. 166 = *ibid.*, Vol. XVI (1921), Pl. XXI, Fig. 316, also illustrated in Delaporte, *Cylindres du Louvre*, Pl. 24. Here again two goats face a sacred tree, but in this example the tree grows on a mountain. See also the collection of sacred trees on Elamite cylinders by Toscanne, *M.D.P.*, XII, 170 ff.

<sup>42</sup> See Contenau, *Glypt. syro-hittite*, p. 42, for the Anatolian god of fertility; cf. H. de Genouillac, *Syria*, X, 10, n. 2.

<sup>43</sup> See R. de Mecquenem, "Notes sur la céramique peinte archaïque en Perse" in *M.D.P.*, XX (1928), 106, Fig. 7, 2; p. 109, Fig. 10, 1 and 3. For the Babylonian origin of the funerary eagle see Cumont, *Ét. Syr.*, pp. 108 f., Fig. 36.

<sup>44</sup> Garstang, *H.E.*, Pl. XXVII, and pp. 122 f. (large eagle standing on pedestal supported by lions). For double-headed eagle see *idem, ibid.*, pp. 105, 143. For the lion-eagle, Imgig, see Hall and Woolley, *al-'Ubaid*, p. 19, Pl. VI.

<sup>45</sup> See Cumont, *Ét. Syr.*, p. 59, n. 1.

occurs as symbol of the sun; it is the eagle of Hadad. Evidence for this interpretation is a most interesting intaglio,<sup>46</sup> found by Lidzbarski in an apothecary's shop at Beirut, on which an eagle with spread wings is engraved below Hadad who stands between two humped bulls or zebus. At left and right are a star (the planet of Venus) and a crescent moon. Here Hadad wears the usual polos; his attributes are the whip of Helios, and a bunch of wheat. Cumont, following Lidzbarski, calls the god Jupiter Heliopolitanus. Also at Dium Hadad is associated with the eagle. On some of the coins of that city, struck under Geta, Hadad standing between two bulls holds in one hand a scepter surmounted by an eagle, on the other hand stands Nike who offers him a crown.<sup>47</sup> Here too Hadad wears the polos, and as another sign of divinity horns appear on his head, although the horns may be reminiscent of the time when Hadad was a bull. On provincial Roman coins the lion of Atargatis is often associated with the eagle of Hadad,<sup>48</sup> and on a silver coin of Caracalla, which will be discussed later, an eagle is depicted below the cult-statue of Hadad and Atargatis. The statues of Jupiter Heliopolitanus,<sup>49</sup> the Hadad of Baalbek, emphasize the eagle in particular among the symbols on the body-sheath strapped over his garment. Recall the eagle of Hadad on our relief from Dura. Not only in the Roman period does the eagle of Hadad occur but also in pre-Roman times. A bronze statuette of Hadad in the Louvre (Pl. XX)<sup>50</sup> has among other decorations on the headdress an eagle. It is also noteworthy that eagles were among the sacred animals that roamed about at liberty in the temple precinct of Hadad and Atargatis at Hieropolis.<sup>51</sup>

Of all the sacred birds the dove received special worship throughout the Orient and the Aegean region. This was not only because the dove is the most amorous and prolific of birds,<sup>52</sup> but also because it was the fetish of the great goddess, the embodiment of her spirit. Lucian<sup>53</sup> re-

<sup>46</sup> Lidzbarski, *Eph.*, III, 188; also illustrated by Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 81, Fig. 35.

<sup>47</sup> *B.M.C.*, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia, Pl. IV, 15 and 16; *ibid.*, Galatia, etc., Pl. XXXVIII, 4; De Saulcy, *Terre Sainte*, Pl. XIX, 9.

<sup>48</sup> See Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 59, n. 2; Macdonald, *Hunterian Coll.*, III, 139, No. 29, Pl. LXXI, 23; Imhoof-Blumer, *Griech. Münzen*, Nos. 776-782, Pl. XIV, 8-10; *B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., Pl. XVII, 12 and 13.

<sup>49</sup> See Dussaud, *Syria*, I, Pls. I and IV, and p. 8.

<sup>50</sup> This statuette is discussed in detail below, pp. 134 f.

<sup>51</sup> Lucian *de dea Syria* 41.

<sup>52</sup> See Glotz, *The Aegean Civilization*, pp. 239 f., 247 f.

<sup>53</sup> *de dea Syria* 54.



ports that the dove is most holy to the Hieropolitans. Recall also the particular importance of the dove in connection with the cult of Semiramis, the daughter of Derceto = Atargatis, who was nourished by doves as a child and eventually took flight to heaven in the appearance of a dove.<sup>54</sup> On top of the standard which stood between the statues of Hadad and Atargatis in the sanctuary at Hieropolis was perched a golden dove;<sup>55</sup> it may well have been the fetish of Semiramis.

Of particular interest to us in our study of the Storm-god Adad or Hadad, as the Anatolians and Syrians called him, and of the Earth-goddess Atargatis, are their favorite animals, the bull and the lion. Originally Adad was a bull, in other words, the spirit of the Storm- and Thunder-god was embodied in a bull. This is made certain by the art of Elam, the country of origins, for there on cylinders of about 3000 B.C. we find a bull kneeling in human posture and holding in each hand arrows which take the place of the usual representations of lightning. Before the bull is a lion, sitting upright and extending its paws in adoration (Pl. XVIII, 3).<sup>56</sup> On other archaic Elamite cylinders (Pl. XVIII, 2)<sup>57</sup> we see a kneeling bull, frontal view of head, a disk above its horns. Facing the bull are two lions, one behind the other, in the usual attitude of adoration. At the right are symbols of rain just as they occur on the Arsacid style of coins of the local Elymaïd dynasty of Kamnaskires and his successors.<sup>58</sup>

On Palmyrene tesserae there is a similar symbol which consists of three lines hanging from a circle which I believe should also be interpreted as rain. One of these (Pl. XIX, 2)<sup>59</sup> represents the bust of a male

<sup>54</sup> Lucian *de dea Syria* 14; Ktesias, *ap.* Diodoros, II, 4, 3 ff., and II, 20; Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess*, p. 86, n. 66; Cook, *Zeus*, I, 583, n. 4; Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher, *Lex.*, s.v. *Semiramis*, col. 681 (Semiramis, the daughter of Derceto); see also Cumont, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.*, s.v. *Dea Syria*, col. 2241; Harmon, n. 2 to Lucian *de dea Syria* 14.

<sup>55</sup> See below, pp. 115, 121.

<sup>56</sup> L. Legrain, *M.S.*, XVI (1921), Pl. XXIII, Fig. 332 and p. 31; see also G. Jéquier, *M.D.P.*, VIII (1905), 12, Fig. 23.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. *M.S.*, XVI, Pl. XXIII, Fig. 331; see especially *M.D.P.*, XII, 112, Fig. 108.

<sup>58</sup> See Allotte de la Fuye, *M.D.P.*, VIII (1905), 177 ff., Pls. X-XIV; *B.M.C.*, Arabia, etc., Pls. XXXIX, XLII. This symbol is usually, though incorrectly, interpreted as an anchor. Hill, *B.M.C.*, Arabia, etc., p. clxxxiv, says "it may not be an anchor at all, but a sacred symbol associated with some deity of Susa." Hill, however, evidently overlooked the same symbol on the above-mentioned archaic cylinders of Susa, where it is without doubt a symbol of rain.

<sup>59</sup> Delaporte, *Cylindres de la Bibl. Nat.*, II, Pl. 126, 4b. The photographs of Pal-

deity whose head is decorated with an upright row of ears of wheat thereby characterizing him as a god of vegetation. In the field at the right is a disk in a circle from which three lines are suspended. The same symbol of rain occurs on another circular tessera in the same collection (Pl. XIX, 2),<sup>60</sup> which represents a beardless bust of a deity to right; here the symbol is in the right field, whereas in the left are star and crescent moon. The origin of this symbol is not known, but its earliest occurrence is on Hittite cylinders.<sup>61</sup> After this digression let us return to the Bull-god on archaic Elamite cylinders and the symbols of rain. The meaning is evident; the Bull-god is the beneficent rain that refreshes the earth.<sup>62</sup> There is other evidence that the bull is an aquatic god, for he is represented kneeling in a boat on an archaic Elamite cylinder. Thunderbolts indicated by arrows flash about him. Below the boat swims a fish, perhaps merely to indicate water (Pl. XVIII, 5).<sup>63</sup> On another cylinder there are two groups: in one a bull, facing, subdues two lions, in the other a lion attempts to tame two rampant bulls (Pl. XVIII, 1);<sup>64</sup> the interpretation is clear: in the first group the Storm-god dominates the Earth-goddess, in the second the Storm-god is under her domination. It is interesting to note that the symbols to right and left of the lion represent the feminine sex.<sup>65</sup> From the above-mentioned examples it is clear that the two great divinities who embody the male and female element are represented in animal form in archaic Elamite art.

How did the lion become the fetish of Atargatis, and the bull the fetish of Hadad? When we recall how long fetishes persist in the Orient, it may well be that the lion and bull on the Elamite monuments are the prototypes for all the later phases of Earth-goddess and Storm-god. The

myrene tesserae reproduced in our plate we owe to the courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

<sup>60</sup> Delaporte, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 126, 35 and 37.

<sup>61</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXX, 412, Fig. 21 = Coll. de Clercq, *Cat. antiquités assyr. Cylindres orientaux*, No. 388.

<sup>62</sup> On this and other conceptions of the divine bull see Glotz, *The Aegean Civilization*, pp. 253 f.

<sup>63</sup> *M.S.*, XVI, Pl. XXIII, Fig. 334. Cf. *M.D.P.*, VIII, 15, Fig. 33, for a cylinder representing two boats; in one rides a bull, in the other a lion. For Immer (Adad) as Rain-god on an inscription from Ur, see Gadd and Legrain, *Ur Excavations*, Texts, I, No. 145.

<sup>64</sup> *M.S.*, XVI, Pl. XXIII, Fig. 330 and p. 31.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XVII, Fig. 266 shows the same symbol of the female sex also connected with the lion of the Earth-goddess.

bull represents fertility and generative power, the lion the forces of nature, and as such the lion is associated with Ishtar, Nanaia, Cybele, Anaïtis, Astarte, Atargatis, and other Earth-goddesses. Aelian states that tame lions were kept in the temple of Anaïtis, in the land of Elymaïs,<sup>66</sup> and according to Lucian<sup>67</sup> lions roamed at liberty in the temple precinct of Atargatis at Hieropolis, where they were no doubt held to be sacred. On the coins of that famous center of the Syrian goddess the lion is depicted either alone or accompanied by the goddess, or with the eagle.<sup>68</sup>

It would lead us too far afield to discuss the snake<sup>69</sup> and the fish<sup>70</sup> as fetishes, suffice it to say that the fish embodies the spirit of Derceto who is identical with Atargatis in Syria. In this connection a Palmyrene tessera<sup>71</sup> in the possession of Dr. Jäckel is of considerable interest. On one side Atargatis is seated on a throne and before her is depicted a large fish, on the other side a lion attacks a stag.

Objects made by man, especially the ax, hammer, and shield, were thought to contain the spirit of a deity. This belief was widespread; it played a most important part in the Aegean ritual.<sup>72</sup> In the Orient the double ax is the thunder-weapon, and therefore we find it in the hand of the Storm-god, especially often as the attribute of the Hittite Teshub<sup>73</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Aelian *de nat. an.* 12, 23.

<sup>67</sup> *de dea Syria* 41.

<sup>68</sup> See above, p. 110, n. 48, and below, pp. 115, 137.

<sup>69</sup> See P. Toscanne, "Études sur le serpent. Figure et symbole dans l'antiquité Élamite," in *M.D.P.*, XII, 153 ff.; on pp. 172 ff. the serpent in connection with the tree of life is discussed. See also H. H. v. der Osten, "The Snake Symbol and the Hittite Twist," in *A.J.A.*, XXX (1926), 405-417.

<sup>70</sup> The fish was held to be most sacred in the sanctuary of Atargatis at Bambyce, indeed, she once was a fish; see Lucian *de dea Syr.* 14 and Harmon's n. 1; also Cumont, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real.-Enc.*, s.v. *Dea Syria*, col. 2241, and his *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, p. 117. On Atargatis = Derceto see, for instance, Cumont, Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Atargatis*; Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess*, p. 52, n. 25. According to Lucian *d.d.S.* 45, one of the sacred fish had a jewel fastened on his fin. That jewels were fetishes we have already noted. Hadad, as an outsider, had no feeling about the sanctity of the fish, and for that reason Atargatis refused to let him see them first (Lucian *d.d.S.* 47). In fact Atargatis never let Hadad feel at home in Syria as her equal, and for that reason he looks so depressed on our relief (Pl. XIV).

<sup>71</sup> Lidzbarski, *Eph.*, III, Pl. V, 3.

<sup>72</sup> Glotz, *The Aegean Civilization*, pp. 231 ff.; Garstang, *H.E.*, pp. 19, 180 (double ax as symbol of sovereignty); Cumont, *Oriental Religions*, p. 147; Cook, *Zeus*, II, 505 ff.; Margaret C. Waites, "The Deities of the Sacred Axe," in *A.J.A.*, XXVI (1923), 25 ff.

<sup>73</sup> For the double ax of Teshub, see, for instance, Garstang, *H.E.*, Pl. XLV, 2. In



and his direct descendant Zeus Dolichenus who, like his ancestor, also stands on a bull.<sup>74</sup>

Furthermore, manifestations of nature: lightning, the sun, the moon, and the other planets were believed by the ancients, especially the Chaldeans, the founders of astrolatry,<sup>75</sup> to be the embodiment of deities.

Lightning as a fetish of the Storm-god occurs in Elam as early as 3000 B.C., as we have seen above. It is the constant attribute or emblem of the Storm-god Adad. On the kudurrus from Susa the thunderbolt of Adad occurs as an emblem either alone in the field, or on the back of a recumbent bull, although sometimes it is placed on a shrine.<sup>76</sup>

Also the moon, always masculine in the Orient and called Sin, was associated with the Bull-god. At Ur, the moon-city, the Moon-god is represented therefore as a bull with a crescent in relief on its forehead.<sup>77</sup> About 2300 B.C. a king of Ur bore the name Bur-Sin, and there are plenty of other names compounded with Sin. The moon-cult is also found in Babylonia and Assyria. The great Babylonian triad was Shamash (the sun), Sin (the moon), and Ishtar (the star Venus).<sup>78</sup> At Harrân, later Carrhae, in Mesopotamia, there was a very old and famous cult of Sin, the Moon-god,<sup>79</sup> and although the usual fetish of the

my *Centauris in Ancient Art*, pp. 85 f., I have shown that Zeus with the double ax on the red relief ware found in Caria and Rhodes is under Hittite influence; he is therefore a Hellenized form of the Hittite Teshub; see also Cook, *Zeus*, II, 614 ff.

<sup>74</sup> Cumont, "Groupe de marbre du Zeus Dolichénus," in *Syria*, I, 183 ff. with bibliography; see also *idem*, *Ét. syr.*, pp. 196 ff.; *idem*, *Orient. Rel.*, p. 127, n. 68. Cf. Garstang, *H.E.*, p. 302, Fig. 41; Cook, *Zeus*, I, 604 ff.

<sup>75</sup> For astrology and the influence of the planets see Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus* (St. Petersburg, 1856), I, 737 ff., and especially F. Cumont, *Oriental Religions*, pp. 163 ff.; also his *Astronomy and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*. Cf. Roscher in Roscher, *Lex.*, s.v. *Planeten*, col. 2529.

<sup>76</sup> See, for instance, King, *Babyl. Boundary Stones and Memorial Tablets in the Br. Mus.*, pp. 19, 24, 29, 38, 43, 56, 76, 128; J. de Morgan, *M.D.P.*, I, Pls. XV-XVI; *M.D.P.*, VII (1905), 139, Fig. 451; p. 144, Fig. 455; Frank, *Bilder und Symbole*, p. 30 f., and H. Zimmern, *Beitrag zu K. Frank, loc. cit.*, pp. 33 ff.; and especially Jacobsthal, *Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst*; and the summary in Cook, *Zeus*, II, 764 ff.

<sup>77</sup> Hall and Woolley, *al-'Ubaid*, p. 19 and Pl. VII, 2-4. The moon-god Men is also connected with the bull; on coins of the imperial period he rests one foot on the head of a bull. See, for instance, Grose, *McClellan Coll.*, III, p. 244, 8822; *B.M.C.*, Phrygia, p. 243, 90-91.

<sup>78</sup> See Jeremias, in Roscher, *Lex.*, s.v. *Sin*, p. 883; *M.D.P.*, VII, 139, Fig. 451 illustrates the emblems of moon, star, and sun on the Cassite kudurrus from Susa.

<sup>79</sup> Chwolsohn, *op. cit.*, I, 130, 206, 313, 400 ff.

crescent occurs there as elsewhere the Harranians had a special moon-fetish in the form of a conical stone or baetyl. This baetyl occurs on some of the coins of Carrhae (Colonia Aurelia) between two standards (Pl. XVIII, 6, 8)<sup>80</sup> which are very similar to the standard on the relief from Dura. On these coins of Carrhae an Ionic tetrastyle temple is represented; the baetyl is in or behind the central intercolumniation and the standards in or behind the end intercolumniations. The standards are not in aediculae, the triangular space over the disks is part of the framework of the standard from which the streamers are suspended. Over the framework is a crescent moon, just as on the standard of the relief of Hadad and Atargatis. The same standard, but surmounted by a dove instead of a crescent, is also found on some of the coins struck at Hieropolis, the most important sanctuary of Hadad and Atargatis in Syria. On these coins, just as on our relief, Atargatis flanked with lions is on the right of the standard, and Hadad flanked with bulls is on the left; his attribute is a spear, her attributes are spindle and spear or scepter. The earliest coin-type of Hieropolis with this arrangement is on a silver coin of Caracalla.<sup>81</sup> Beneath all is the eagle of Hadad. The same design occurs on a bronze coin of Severus Alexander (Pl. XVIII, 7), best preserved in the example at Vienna;<sup>82</sup> a variation occurs on a bronze coin of Julia Mamaea in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.<sup>83</sup> On these bronze coins a lion, the emblem of Atargatis, takes the place of the eagle. Note also that here the standard has four disks, whereas on the silver coin of Caracalla there are only three. The numismatists are unanimous in calling it a military or legionary standard,<sup>84</sup> but I am convinced that it was a fetish, and that it was carried in religious processions as the

<sup>80</sup> Our illustration is from a cast of a coin in Berlin, procured through the kindness of Professor Regling. See also Chwolsohn, *op. cit.*, I, 402, for two coins of Septimius Severus depicting the baetyl. Cf. Roscher, *Lex.*, IV, s.v. *Sin*, col. 891, Figs. 2-4; Macdonald, *Hunterian Coll.*, III, Pl. LXXVIII, 24, where, however, the description on p. 301, 2, is misleading; G. F. Hill, *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, VI (1916), 153 f. and Pl. XII, 3; *B.M.C.*, Arabia, etc., Pl. XII, 4.

<sup>81</sup> Cook, *Zeus*, I, 586, Fig. 448; Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische Münzen*, p. 759, No. 772.

<sup>82</sup> Reproduced through the kindness of Dr. Löhr, director of the Münzkabinett of Vienna. Illustrated also: Cook, *Zeus*, I, 586, Fig. 449; Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, p. 759, No. 773, Pl. XIV, 7; Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess*, Frontisp., Fig. 1 and p. 70, Fig. 7; *idem*, *H.E.*, p. 304, Fig. 42, and in many other places.

<sup>83</sup> Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, p. 759, No. 775.

<sup>84</sup> The real appearance of military standards on oriental monuments is made clear by Sarre, "Die altorientalischen Feldzeichen," *Klio*, III, 333 ff.

embodiment of the deities. Frothingham, however, although he is right in protesting against the usual interpretation, is mistaken in identifying the standard with the caduceus of Hermes.<sup>85</sup> We shall discuss the standard and its disks later.

Let us return to the coins of Colonia Aurelia<sup>86</sup> (Carrhae) and examine them in detail so as to see the various ways of representing the moon-fetish. From the time of Marcus Aurelius to Gordian III the coins have the following types: (*a*) crescent and one or two stars of eight rays, the crescent sometimes resting on a globe; (*b*) the whole is placed on a pedestal; (*c*) two fillets hang down from the globe or from the crescent; (*d*) crescent without star is placed on a globe which rests on a pedestal of two stages; (*e*) crescent and star of six rays resting on a cushion, sometimes with fillets attached to the globe.<sup>87</sup> Very remarkable is a coin of Gordian III with the representation of a bust of Tyche and a crescent over her head; at the left is a peculiar figure, not very satisfactorily explained as the constellation Aquarius.<sup>88</sup> Here, then, Tyche is a moon-goddess, either Selene or more probably Artemis; both of them are identified with Atargatis. On a coin of Caracalla we see the bust of the Moon-god Sin with a crescent behind his shoulders and another surmounting his diadem. Another coin of Caracalla, also one of Geta, represent the Moon-god with a crescent on each shoulder, and a standard planted in the ground; furthermore a similar representation with a crescent also on his head, and a standard on either side. On a coin of Elagabalus we find a radiated bust of the Moon-god. A coin of Severus

<sup>85</sup> A. L. Frothingham, *A.J.A.*, XX (1916), 208. See Hill's protest in *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, VI (1916), 153, n. 8.

<sup>86</sup> For the history of Carrhae see Chwolsohn, *op. cit.*, Vols. I and II (texts with translation and notes). See I, 302 for the autonomous coins of Carrhae, pp. 360, 388, 401 f. for the imperial coins; pp. 301 ff. deal with the history of Ḥarrân and the Harranians to 830 A.D. when they were called Ssabians for the first time. Chwolsohn then discusses the worship of the moon in general, and points out how the excessive heat of the place influenced the cult and explains their moon-worship. On p. 242 he proves that the temple of Sin was not destroyed until 1032 A.D. Cumont too, in his *Astrology and Religion* (p. 125), says: "In hot countries the sun is, above all, an enemy. . . . In the freshness of night the moon shed the wholesome dews and her brightness . . . guided caravans across the desert."

<sup>87</sup> For these types see Macdonald, *Hunterian Coll.*, III, 301, Nos. 1, 3-6, 14-17, 20-24, Pl. LXXVIII, 25 and 27; *B.M.C.*, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia, Pls. XII, 3, 5, 9-12, 23; XIII, 4 and 5.

<sup>88</sup> Macdonald, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXVIII, 29; *B.M.C.*, Arabia, etc., Pl. XIII, 1 and 2; on Pl. XIII, 3, the bust of Tyche is surrounded by two stars.



Alexander represents the Moon-god enthroned, a crescent behind his shoulders, and in the field two standards.<sup>89</sup> To my mind these are not military but religious standards. The meaning of the globe which supports the crescent is not known, but I venture to believe that it is not the sun disk but the full moon,<sup>90</sup> and that the fillet or streamers are the moon's beams. Originally, however, the symbols may have been the fetish of Shamash, Sin, and Ishtar, the Babylonian trinity.

As a cult object or fetish the crescent moon on a staff, with streamers hanging from either side, similar to the arrangement on the coins of Carrhae, occurs frequently on oriental cylinders.<sup>91</sup> As we have already seen the standards on the coins of Carrhae are crowned with the crescent moon, and the same fetish tops the standard on our Hadad and Atargatis relief.

Again, from the sanctuary of Atargatis at Dura comes a limestone relief,<sup>92</sup> found in front of the altar dedicated by Gemellus to Atargatis. It represents the moon-fetish on a tall pillar which stands on two steps (Pl. XIX, 1). The pillar ends in a large globe, perhaps a decorative capital, on top of which is a very large crescent resting on a cushion, as at Carrhae. From this cushion or perhaps from the crescent itself hang the customary streamers, here characterized as rays of light. Above the crescent moon which resembles the horns of Hadad's bull is a small lunar disk. The standard is in an aedicula with archivolt over Ionic pilasters. Somewhat similar is a four-sided stele from Carchemish,<sup>93</sup> also

<sup>89</sup> Chwolsohn, *op. cit.*, I, 401; Mionnet, *Descr. de méd. ant.*, V, 593-601 and Suppl., V, 391-398.

<sup>90</sup> So too Frank, *Bilder und Symbole*, pp. 12 ff.

<sup>91</sup> For Assyrian examples: Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel und Homer*, Pl. LXXIX, 11-12; Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, II, 647, Fig. 315; *A.J.A.*, II, Pl. 5, 5, Ohnefalsch-Richter calls the standard an Ashera, i.e., a female deity of Palestine and Syria related to Astarte. See also Alt in *Reallex. der Vorgeschichte*, s.v. *Aschera*. A Hittite goddess holding a standard surmounted by a crescent moon (both moon and staff ornamented with streamers) is in the Louvre: Delaporte, *Cylindres*, etc., II, Pl. 94, Fig. 25. The standard is quite as tall as the goddess. See also the example on a cylinder of the epoch of Ur (2450-2250 B.C.): Delaporte, *Cylindres du Louvre*, II, Pl. 76, 1-2; Legrain, *Culture of the Babylonians*, II, Pl. XVIII, Nos. 280-282. For other references to the moon as the standard of Sin in Babylonia as early as the dynasty of Hamurabi (2225-1926 B.C.) see Hugo Prinz, *Altorientalische Symbolik* (Berlin, 1915), Pl. XIII, 7, and p. 142.

<sup>92</sup> Dimensions: 1.02 m. by 0.43 m. The Syriac inscription on the left side of the pillar was added later; see Torrey in this Report, pp. 68 ff.

<sup>93</sup> Woolley, *Carchemish*, Pl. A.16, *ε* 1, p. ix. Further evidence that Sin was wor-

rounded on top, but the disk in the crescent is much larger, and is quartered by crossed lines. Here the crescent has not the shape of horns. Below the crescent moon is the royal emblem, the winged solar disk. Instructive is the bronze standard found by Alan Rowe at Beisan, for it, too, is surmounted by a crescent moon.<sup>94</sup> It seems to me that Rowe is mistaken in calling it a spear butt.

The sun on a staff, either planted in the ground or held in the hand of a votary or a god, is the standard of the Sun-god Shamash.<sup>95</sup> Sometimes this standard, often mistaken for a mirror, is held in the hands of Hittite priestesses or goddesses.<sup>96</sup> It is also of frequent occurrence on oriental cylinders.<sup>97</sup>

Much more frequently, however, the sun and moon occur combined, and are so arranged that the disk of the sun is placed between the up-turned horns of the crescent, which means that the moon precedes the sun. On Hittite seal cylinders occurs also the cult standard in this combination, and the disk of the sun is sometimes divided by a cross into four quarters.<sup>98</sup> On a Syro-Cappadocian cylinder in the Louvre the standard is held by a priest, instead of standing alone, and streamers hang from the crescent.<sup>99</sup> The solar disk and crescent, but not combined

shipped at Carchemish is furnished by the impression of two seals at the end of the cuneiform tablet from House D, see R. Campbell Thompson in Woolley, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 ff., Fig. 54.

<sup>94</sup> Illustrated in *The Museum Journal* (Philadelphia, June, 1928), p. 163; also by Valentin Müller, "Das palästinensische Kunstgewerbe," in *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes*, IV, 159, Fig. 2. It was found in the Amenophis III level (1411-1375 B.C.).

<sup>95</sup> For a relief from Khorsabad in Assyria depicting two standards with sun-disk on top from which streamers are suspended see Ohnefalsch-Richter, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXXVII, 14; time of Sargon (722-705 B.C.). See also Unger, *Assyr. u. Babyl. Kunst*, p. 439; Prinz, *Altorientalische Symbolik*, pp. 65 ff. for Baal Shammin, the old Sky-god, "the eternal regulator of cosmic movements," see Cumont, *Astrology and Religion*, p. 79; *idem*, *Oriental Religions*, pp. 127 ff. For Assyrian military standards see Sarre, *Klio*, III, 338, Figs. 5 and 6; p. 340, Fig. 7.

<sup>96</sup> Woolley, *Carchemish*, Part II, Pl. B.21, a = Rostovtzeff, *Hist. of Anc. World*, I, Pl. XXIII, 3 (priestesses); Woolley, *op. cit.*, Pl. B.19, a = Garstang, *H.E.*, p. 282, Fig. 31 (goddess enthroned on a crouching lion). On the so-called ceremonial feast stelae it may be a mirror, see, for example, Garstang, *H.E.*, p. 224, Fig. 18.

<sup>97</sup> See, for instance, Contenau, *La Glyptique syro-hittite* (Paris, 1922), Pl. XXV, 359 (Assyrian).

<sup>98</sup> Ohnefalsch-Richter, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXX, 1; Layard, *Mithra*, Pl. LII, 6; Goodyear, *Lotos*, Pl. XXXIV, 7; Woolley, *Carchemish*, Part II, Pl. A.16, c 1 (basalt stele).

<sup>99</sup> Delaporte, *Cylindres du Louvre*, II, Pl. 96, 10 = Contenau, *Glypt. syro-hittite*, Pl. XXIV, 174. I believe that Delaporte is mistaken in calling it a scepter. The stand-

in the usual way, is found also in the field to the left of the bust of Atargatis on the coin from Bambyce discussed below. Here, however, the disk may be lunar.

Very remarkable are the religious standards from 'Ain-Djudj, a filter basin and well pool of the water supply of Baalbek, now in the Berlin Antiquarium.<sup>100</sup> They are of lead and represent in the crescent moon not the usual lunar disk, but the bust of the Sun-god. On all but one the bust is disk-shaped, surmounted by the rayed head of the Sun-god. Disk, crescent, and the lead part of the staff, in which a wooden pole had been fastened, are decorated with protuberances, no doubt in imitation of precious stones. The original of these lead imitations, probably of gold, and decorated with precious stones, must have been in the temple of Atargatis at Heliopolis (Baalbek).

The frequent occurrence of the sun and moon on oriental cylinders, especially when they are in the field, does not necessarily refer to cult-scenes. The sun-moon above Ramman, Adad, Marduk, or female deities, even above the nude Mother-goddess, does not make them solar deities.<sup>101</sup> It is indicative merely of their high rank.

In addition to the sun and moon other planets were worshiped by the ancients. The ancient order of the planets is as follows: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, and Moon, and the bases or platforms on which their cult-statues stood had nine steps for Saturn, eight for Jupiter, seven for Mars, six for the Sun, five for Venus, four for Mercury, and three for the Moon.<sup>102</sup> The star Venus was the astral sign for Ishtar,

and without streamers suspended from the crescent occurs in the hand of a deity on a Hittite cylinder in the Coll. de Clercq, *Cat. antiquités assyr. Cylindres orientaux*, etc., II, Pl. XXXVII, 299 *bis*; and the standard with crescent and disk in which is inscribed a star of four branches is held by the god Ea-bani; this is on a Babylonian cylinder in the Bibl. Nat., Delaporte, *Cylindres de la Bibl. Nat.*, No. 172; cf. also *ibid.*, No. 143, and Seyrig, *Syria*, X, 339, n. 4. On a relief of King Barrakub and his secretary from Senjirli, now in Berlin (Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, Pl. XXXV), is depicted in the field a staff decorated with tassels and supporting a crescent and disk. The examples could be multiplied easily. Peculiar are the ape-like figures holding the sun-moon standard; see, for example, Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, Pl. VIII, 235 and 249 (Syro-Assyrian of the seventh century B.C.).

<sup>100</sup> Illustrated by Seyrig, *Syria*, X (1929), Pl. LXXXVI, and discussed by him on p. 339; see also Winnefeld, *Baalbek*, I, Text, p. 32, Fig. 16. Their exact date cannot be fixed, but they are earlier than the Seleucid period.

<sup>101</sup> See Prinz, *Altorientalische Symbolik*, p. 63, Nos. 38-44, Pls. XII, 6 and 7, XIII, 6; pp. 126 ff., Pl. XII, 1 (terra cotta relief).

<sup>102</sup> See Chwolson, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, II, 673; for astrology and the



the goddess of fertility. In the time of Naram-Sin, king of Agade, the star was also the sign of another goddess of fertility, Innina, as is evinced by a relief on a cliff near Sarpul representing the Sumerian king Annubanini and the goddess Innina; between them in the field is an eight-rayed star inscribed in a disk.<sup>103</sup>

### 3. *The Religious Standard.*

Let us now return to the standard between Hadad and Atargatis on the relief found at Dura (Pl. XIV). The staff is crowned by the crescent moon as is also the case not only on the above-mentioned limestone relief representing a standard in an aedicula, but also on the coins from Carrhae (Pl. XVIII, 6, 8). All these examples, as well as the moon-tipped standards on seal cylinders and other objects just discussed, belong either to the Moon-goddess or to the Moon-god. Although Lucian<sup>104</sup> in describing the cult-statues in the temple of Hieropolis is sure of his identification of Hadad as Zeus he is in a quandary how to identify Atargatis: "The general effect," he says, "is certainly that of Hera, but she has borrowed traits from a variety of goddesses—Athena, Aphrodite, Selene, Rhea,<sup>105</sup> Artemis, Nemesis and the Moirai."<sup>106</sup> The cres-

influence of the planets, I, 737 ff.; Cumont, *Astrology and Religion*, pp. 22–24, 79 (star-worship in Syria), 119; *idem*, *Orient. Rel.*, p. 123: "Astrolatry wrought radical changes in the characters of the celestial powers in the entire Roman paganism." To Marduk was assigned Jupiter; to Ninib, Mars (Saturn?); to Nebo, Mercury; to Nergal, Saturn (Mars?); to Ishtar, Venus. According to the list found in the library of Assurbanipal, however, the ancient order of the planets was as follows: Moon, Sun, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Mercury, Mars (see Roscher, *Lex., s.v. Planeten*, col. 2529).

<sup>103</sup> Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien* (Berlin, 1920), p. 4, Fig. 1, and Pl. II; on p. 6, Fig. 2 and Pls. III–IV, is seen another relief on the opposite cliff depicting the same king with the astral sign at the right and probably also at the left of his head, but here it is between the horns of a crescent moon. In this case the goddess Innina is represented only by her symbol.

<sup>104</sup> *de dea Syria* 31 f.

<sup>105</sup> An interesting example of the identification of Atargatis with Rhea is in Bar-desan where the Syriac version reads, "In Syria and in Edessa men used to cut off their foreskins to Tharatha" (Cureton, *Spicil. Syr.*, p. 31), but the Greek, as quoted by Eusebius, has Rhea. Was the circumcision symbolic of the common practice of emasculation?

<sup>106</sup> Strong's translation in Strong and Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess*. See also Plutarch *Crassus* 17.6 where it is stated that Atargatis was called Venus by some, Juno by others, whereas, still others "regard her as the natural cause which supplies from moisture the beginning and seeds of everything, and points out to mankind the source of all blessing" (Perrin's translation).

cent moon on our standard evidently belongs to Atargatis as Selene. On the coins of Hieropolis (Pl. XVIII, 7), on the other hand, the standard is surmounted by a dove which refers either to Atargatis as Aphrodite or to Semiramis. Lucian<sup>107</sup> describes the cult-statues in the adyton of the temple of the Syrian goddess at Hieropolis as follows: "In this shrine are placed statues, one of which is Hera, the other Zeus, though they are called by another name. Both are of gold, and both are sitting; Hera is supported by lions, Zeus is sitting on bulls. . . . Between the two there stands another image of gold, which possesses no special form of its own, but recalls the characteristics of the other gods. The Syrians call it *σημήιον*, . . . its summit is crowned by a golden pigeon." Lucian evidently did not know why the Syrians used the term *σημήιον*. He merely states that the Syrians have given it no special name, and that they do not even speak of its form and origin. Lucian then adds some speculations: "Some ascribe it to Dionysos, others to Deucalion, others again to Semiramis; for on top of it there is perched a golden dove, on account of which they call it the *σημήιον* of Semiramis. Twice every year it journeys to the sea to get the water that I mentioned." These speculations about Dionysos and Deucalion are not worth very much to us. Macrobius<sup>108</sup> says nothing about the *σημήιον*, he merely says: "The Syrians give the name of Hadad to the god . . . whom they honor as all-powerful, but they associate with him the goddess Atargatis."

But then how are we to account for the three disks on the shaft of our standard? If we recall the lead standards from 'Ain-Djudj we might be justified in interpreting them as precious stones. In favor of such an interpretation is the fact that the local coins of Hieropolis<sup>109</sup> represent now three, now four disks. The standard on our relief (Pl. XIV) has three disks, the lower one quartered; all three are surrounded by a circle. We have seen above that the sun-disk is sometimes quartered. We must, therefore, also take into consideration the possibility that the three disks on our standard represent planets. If they do we would expect the planets of the great triad. At Heliopolis the triad consisted, under their

<sup>107</sup> *de dea Syria* 31 ff. I have given Strong's translation in Strong and Garstang (*op. cit.*, p. 33); Garstang (*ibid.*, pp. 23 f., 73 n. 45) thinks the standard was originally a pillar altar with a pigeon on top. For the dove as a sacred bird at Hieropolis see Garstang, *op. cit.*, p. 86 n. 66, to the passage in Lucian, 54. The Mother- or Nature-goddess is accompanied by a bird on Hittite cylinders, Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Nos. 898, 904, 907, 908, 943.

<sup>108</sup> *Saturnalia* I. 23, 18.

<sup>109</sup> See above, p. 115.

Latin names, of Jupiter, Venus, and Mercury.<sup>110</sup> We do not know for certain the name of the third member of the Hieropolitan triad, but on analogy with other triads we may assume that it was an Attis-like figure, the divine lover and son of Atargatis, recently often called Simios. The whole question is complicated, however, by a daughter of Hadad, named Simea, Semea, or Seme, and by the name Semiramis. The identification of the third member with Simios is based on Lucian's description of the standard,<sup>111</sup> which he says the Syrians call *σημήιον*, and the attempt to connect *σημήιον* with Simios, the lover and son of Derceto (Atargatis).<sup>112</sup> But it seems to me that the term *σημήιον* has not been correctly interpreted. I take the term to mean *signum*, sign or standard, a religious banner, the aniconic fetish of the deities Hadad, Atargatis, and the third member of the triad. On close observation of the standard on the coin from Hieropolis, illustrated on Plate XVIII, 7, small marks

<sup>110</sup> For a discussion of the formation of triads see Cumont, *Oriental Religions*, pp. 123, 250; Dussaud, *Rev. Arch.*, II (1904), 257 ff. See also Cumont, *Astrology and Religion*, pp. 22 ff.; Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess*, p. 26. For the triad at Heliopolis see Seyrig, "La Triade Héliopolitaine et les temples de Baalbek," *Syria*, X (1929), 314 ff., and especially pp. 353 ff. where Seyrig sums up his conclusions. On pp. 348 f. he identifies the Heliopolitan Mercury of the small temple with Bacchus; cf. A. Parrot, *Syria*, X, 119 ff. Hermann Thiersch, on the other hand, believes that the large temple was dedicated to Hadad, and the small temple to Atargatis, see his *Zu den Tempeln und zur Basilika von Baalbek* (Nachrichten Gött. Ges. [1925], Heft I), pp. 1 ff.

<sup>111</sup> *de dea Syria* 33.

<sup>112</sup> On Simea and Simios see Dussaud, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, zweite Reihe, *s.v.*; also his *Notes*, p. 107, and Lidzbarski, *Eph.*, II, 323 f. Our knowledge of these obscure figures is based on Melito (W. Cureton, *Spicil. Syr.*, 25) who infers that Sime, the daughter of Hadad, was worshiped in the temple of Hieropolis; he furthermore states that she fetched water from the sea and poured it into a well at Mabug (Bambyce = Hieropolis) in order to dispel evil spirits. See also Gunning, in Pauly-Wiss.-Kroll, zweite Reihe, III, *s.v. Sima oder Sime*, and Hofer, Roscher, *Lex.*, IV, *s.v. Semea*. An interesting mold representing a Syrian triad at Hieropolis—two fully grown deities with a small female figure, Sime, the daughter of Hadad, between them—is in the Ashmolean Museum, see Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, p. 78, Fig. 84; Henri de Genouillac, "Idole en plomb d'une triade Cappadocienne," *Syria*, X (1929), Pl. I, Fig. 1, E; cf. p. 2, Fig. 1. Other molds representing dyads are in the Louvre and in the Cabinet de Médailles. The Louvre example (S. Reinach, *Esquisses archéologiques*, p. 45; Delaporte, *Cylindres du Louvre*, II, 231, A.1526, Pl. 128; *Syria*, X, Pl. I, Fig. 1, A) depicts a draped male and a nude female deity. The latter wears jewels in her hair and is similar to the lead idol from Troy (*Syria*, X, Pl. I, Fig. 2, and often) and to the goddess of the lead triad, *loc. cit.*, p. 2, Fig. 1. The example in the Cab. Méd. (S. Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 46; *Syria*, X, Pl. I, Fig. 1, C) depicts Hadad and Atargatis, the latter wearing a polos with ascending rays, the former with the horns of a bull on his pointed cap.



radiating from the disks can be seen. It seems to me that these more probably represent the rays of stars than the sparkle of precious stones. I have already suggested the possibility that the three disks on the standard of our relief represent planets. In art the planets and pleiades are usually indicated by disks within circles, exactly as the disks on our standard. Their earliest occurrence is on archaic Elamite cylinders<sup>113</sup> of about 3000 B.C. Furthermore, disks of this shape representing stars or planets are also found on a Hittite cylinder under Babylonian influence.<sup>114</sup> Somewhat later the pleiades are represented by seven disks on a Babylonian boundary stone of about 1150 B.C.<sup>115</sup> The Palmyrene tesserae often represent the planets, Sun, Moon, and Venus, and sometimes seven dots which refer to the seven planets.<sup>116</sup> Since then the stars are indicated in exactly the same way as the disks on our standard, and since the lowest of the three disks, larger than the others, is divided into four quarters as on other representations of the sun it seems more than probable that these disks represent three planets, Jupiter, Venus, and Mercury, or, as the Syrians would say, Hadad, Atargatis, and a third member of the triad, perhaps Nebo,<sup>117</sup> or, if Dussaud is right, Simios. However, I am aware that this interpretation does not account for the four disks on some of the coins struck at Hieropolis.

#### 4. *The Earth-Goddess and the Storm-God. Their Cult and Art Types.*

As we have seen in our study of fetishism man was tremendously impressed, in the very dawn of civilization, by the elemental forces of nature. Above all else the earth on which he lived, the thunderstorms of the heavens followed by refreshing rains or by destructive deluge, the hot sun and the cool moon, attracted his attention. He stood in great awe of the mystery of creation, and of the mystery of death. These and many other phenomena of nature became objects of reverence if they were benevolent, and objects of fear if they were malevolent. Hostile deities had to be appeased by offerings. In his struggle against the malignant

<sup>113</sup> Delaporte, *Cylindres du Louvre*, I, Pl. 26, 1, and p. 44, S. 280.

<sup>114</sup> Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, Pl. II, 26 (after 1500 B.C.); see also p. 56, Fig. 58 (four stars).

<sup>115</sup> Illustrated in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I of Plates, p. 77.

<sup>116</sup> See Lidzbarski, *Eph.*, III, 154.

<sup>117</sup> Mercury should be Nebo-Apollo, because Mercury is the planet of Nebo; see Jeremias, in Roscher, *Lex.*, s.v. *Nebo*, cols. 57 ff. Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 200.

forces of nature, superstition, the child of terror, gained a firm hold on the mind of man.

We have seen that in the beginning of all religions the forces of nature were worshiped in fetish form. It is, however, also inherent in man to conceive of the gods as having human shape. And yet, even after he had given human form to his divinities, he never ceased to worship fetishes.

The mystery of procreation, which is so closely connected with motherhood, led primitive man to worship a Mother-goddess. She watched over pregnant women and presided at childbirth. That mankind should think of the Mother-goddess as an Earth-goddess is only natural when we consider the close analogy between the productivity of woman and the productive and nutritive powers of nature. She also became the protectress of animal life, the πότνια θηρῶν, queen of wild beasts. She could tame the wildest of animals, even the lion, and that may be one of the reasons for associating the lion with her as a symbol of her power.

In the agricultural stage of development man noticed that the grain ripens and the stalks die, that plants and trees lose their leaves in fall and die, but that with the advent of spring they are reborn. Naturally enough this led him to believe in a future life, a resurrection after death. And so the Mother-goddess became a goddess of death, but even in death she preserves life.

Especially in Anatolia, but also in Crete,<sup>118</sup> and in Sumer from time immemorial the great Mother-goddess received supreme worship. She is pre-Semitic and goes under a multitude of names, but in essence she is always the same, the Mother of Man, the supreme source of life. This great Mother of Anatolia was later known as Ma, still later as the Lydian Cybebe or as the Phrygian Cybele—all of them indigenous.<sup>119</sup> In Syria she was called dea Syria or Atargatis.

The earliest known temple of the Mother-goddess, built about 3000 B.C., has been found recently, at least in its substructure, at al-'Ubaid, about four miles to the west of Ur.<sup>120</sup> It is very remarkable that as early

<sup>118</sup> Glotz, *The Aegean Civilization*, pp. 243 ff., where the bibliography is given.

<sup>119</sup> Dussaud, "La Lydie et ses voisins," p. 56 (Asiatic matriarchy), p. 74 (indigenous Cappadocian deities).

<sup>120</sup> Hall and Woolley, *al-'Ubaid*, pp. 105 ff., Pl. II (plan of platform), Pl. XXXVIII (reconstruction in color of part of the temple), also illustrated by Rostovtzeff, *A History of the Ancient World* (2d ed., 1930), Pl. LI, 1.

as this the lion is already associated with the Goddess, and that bulls with crescents on their foreheads also feature very conspicuously in the decoration of the temple. Luckily, an inscription found here and published by C. J. Gadd,<sup>121</sup> gives the names of two goddesses, Nin-Khursag and Dam-gal-nun. The latter means "great fruitful wife"; the name was probably nothing more than an epithet of Nin-Khursag whose name means "lady of the mountain"; but above all else she is the Mother-goddess and as such was worshiped in all the chief cities of Sumer. As we have seen one of her epithets was "great fruitful wife." She was also called "creator of men" and "mother of gods." The latter title she held especially as the mother and wife of a young god Enki, whose annual death was the cause of the loss of life in nature during the winter months. He is, therefore, according to my mind, the third member of a triad, and reminds us of the Ishtar and Tammuz myth. But who is her consort? It must be a Bull-god judging from the many bulls found at al-'Ubaid and, as we have noted above, one of these bulls has a crescent moon on its forehead, symbolic of the Moon-god of Ur. It seems to me that the temple was the permanent residence of the goddess Nin-Khursag, her consort Sin, the Moon-god of Ur, and the divine son and lover Enki.

It is especially noteworthy that at al-'Ubaid the cemeteries of Ur were located. Nin-Khursag must have been a goddess of the lower world, like so many other phases of the Earth-goddess. It is a far cry to the time when the "funeral Venus," small statuettes of Ishtar of the Graeco-Parthian period, guarded the dead in their tombs,<sup>122</sup> but the protective power of the Earth-goddess over the dead goes back to at least 3000 B.C., as we learn from the excavations of al-'Ubaid. When we recall the mysterious poem of "the descent of Ishtar" to the lower world<sup>123</sup> to seek for her lover Tammuz and to bring him back to life, it seems to me that we may with considerable confidence infer that Nin-Khursag, too, descended into the lower world to search for her lover Enki and to bring about his resurrection. Indeed, all poems of the type of the "descent of Ishtar" are evidently based on observations of the death of nature in winter and its resurrection in spring. The same ideas are expressed in the religion of the Phrygians, in Cybele, the Great Mother of

<sup>121</sup> Gadd, in Hall and Woolley, *op. cit.*, pp. 125 ff., 141 ff. from which I have drawn freely in the text.

<sup>122</sup> See especially L. Legrain, "Small Sculptures from Babylonian Tombs," in *The Museum Journal* (Philadelphia, June, 1928), pp. 195 ff. and Figs. 4-17.

<sup>123</sup> See translation of this poem in Roscher, *s.v. Nergal*, cols. 257 ff.



the gods, and Attis, also in Adonis and in Osiris.<sup>124</sup> In all these cases the destiny of man is associated with the lot of the gods. "They too would be reborn to a new life after they had died," as Cumont<sup>125</sup> so well puts it.

In art the Universal Mother is usually depicted as nude because she is a goddess of procreation, and, from the third millennium down, with broad hips and with the accentuation of the genital organs. She presses her breasts, the sources of nourishment to mankind.<sup>126</sup> It is probable that the Sumerians invented the type which then spread far and wide with the political expansion of the more powerful kings of the First Dynasty of Ur. This would account for the occurrence of the type in Hittite art<sup>127</sup> of northern Syria, but how the steatopygous type of goddess found her way to Crete is not known.<sup>128</sup> On an impression of a Chaldean cylinder of the archaic epoch<sup>129</sup> the goddess of fertility occurs as a draped female deity three times; in the upper register she is kneeling on two lions beside the Moon-god Sin who stands on two dogs, and in the lower register she occurs twice, each time kneeling on a lion. In two of the three examples a star and a disk in a crescent indicate her divinity. In the third illustration of the goddess she is represented between two nude female figures, each holding a palm branch. The Bull-god also occurs on the same impression. I know of no other examples of the goddess

<sup>124</sup> See especially Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II, 115 ff. (Adonis), 130 ff. (Attis), 137 ff. (Osiris).

<sup>125</sup> *After Life in Roman Paganism* (Yale Univ. Press, 1922), pp. 35 f., 116.

<sup>126</sup> For terra cotta figurines of the Mother-goddess see now Mrs. E. Douglas Van Buren, *Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria* (Yale Univ. Press, 1930), Yale Oriental Series, Vol. XVI. On p. xlix, Nos. 1-12, Figs. 1-3, are examples of the fourth millennium at Ur, Tello, Kish, Susa, Nippur, and Assur; Nos. 13-77, Figs. 4-16, 17-20, 22-24 are examples of the third millennium (here only occasionally the goddess holds her breasts, and has the exaggerated private parts); Figs. 35-39, 41-45 are of the second millennium (here the exaggerated private parts and the hands pressing the breasts become universal); Fig. 46 is Cassite. On female idols in general see, for example, R. Dussaud, *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la mer Égée*, p. 364, Fig. 269 (lead idol from Troy), p. 365, Fig. 270 (steatite mold from Thyatira), p. 370, Fig. 275 (Cypriote nude idol with child on arm), p. 371, Fig. 276 (Cypriote idol); and Eduard Meyer, Roscher, *Lex.*, I, cols. 646 f.

<sup>127</sup> See G. D. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, p. 103.

<sup>128</sup> See Glotz, *The Aegean Civilization*, pp. 243 ff., for an excellent discussion of the Cretan goddess.

<sup>129</sup> M. Pezard, "Étude sur les intailles susiennes," in *M.D.P.*, XII, 117, Fig. 128; Delaporte, *Cylindres du Louvre*, I, 57, S. 462 (where other references are given), and Pl. 45, 11 and 12.

kneeling on a lion; on the earlier monuments she either stands on or beside her lion, whereas on the later monuments she is either seated between two lions, or rides sidewise on one. On this seal impression of a cylinder which dates not later than 2800 B.C. the goddess may have been called Nin-Khursag, Innina, or Nana who was later replaced by Ishtar.<sup>180</sup> The association of the Mother-goddess with the lion seems therefore to have had its origin in Sumer and Elam in the archaic period, about 3000–2800 B.C.

The type of nude goddess occurs also on the seal cylinders of the Sumero-Akkadian period<sup>181</sup> (2800–2600 B.C.), and on those of the Hittite period,<sup>182</sup> but the figure of the nude goddess pressing her breasts is not found long before 2000 B.C., just at the time when the western Amorite influence began to be preponderant in Babylonia.<sup>183</sup> It is not my intention to cite all of the art types of our goddess, but one type must be mentioned because of its importance to the understanding of the Mother-goddess. I refer to the well-known bronze statuette in Berlin, which represents a nude goddess standing on a lion and suckling a child.<sup>184</sup> Noteworthy are the high headdress and the profuse jewelry—necklace, flat armlets, bracelets, and two heavy rings above the ankles.

Let us now turn to the male deity, the Father-god, consort of the Mother-goddess. To the Semitic and Indo-European world, the male deity plays a more important rôle than the female deity. The Father-

<sup>180</sup> For Ishtar, draped, resting one foot on a crouching lion which she holds by a leash, see the Elamite seal cylinder in the Louvre, Delaporte, *op. cit.*, Pl. 94, 5. Delaporte, *M.D.P.*, XII, 57, interprets In-ninna as "lady or princess of the house of Anu." There was a temple of Nana and of Anu at Uruk, as we shall see below.

<sup>181</sup> For the nude goddess on Babylonian cylinders see, for instance, Contenau, *Glypt. syro-hittite*, Pls. XVII, 124–130; XVIII, 183 and 184. Here she is always an accessory person smaller in size than the local draped deities.

<sup>182</sup> On Hittite seals the goddess is sometimes partly dressed or is disrobing like Ishtar on her descent to Hades in quest of her lover, see Contenau, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 f.; Pl. XVIII, 135–139; Pl. XIX, 140–144, 146, etc.; see also Delaporte, *Cylindres du Louvre*, Pl. 97, 5 (Syro-Cappadocian), for nude goddess standing on lion, and holding two stags by their hind legs.

<sup>183</sup> See Legrain, *Mus. Journ.* (Philadelphia, June, 1928), p. 205; *idem*, *Culture of the Babylonians*, I, 31.

<sup>184</sup> Weber, *Hethitische Kunst*, Pls. 8–9; Gressmann, *Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-römischen Zeitalter* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1930), p. 64, Fig. 23; A. Moortgat, *Berliner Museen*, Berichte aus den Preuss. Kunstsamml., LI Jahrgang, Heft 3 (1930), col. 57, Figs. 1–2. Moortgat considers it not Hittite, but Mitannian, and assigns it to about 1500 B.C.

god, too, goes by a multitude of names, but in character he is always a Sky-god, either a Sun-god or a Storm-god. In Babylonia he is called Marduk, in Assyria he is Assur, in the land of the Hittites he is the Storm-god Teshub, who is practically the same as his Mesopotamian prototype Adad. The Phrygians, who originally came from Macedonia and Thrace, did their share in introducing the dominance of the male element into religion.<sup>185</sup> But in all countries the female deity is also recognized. The female cannot conceive without the male, vegetation does not grow without sunlight and rain. The fertilizing powers of man and of nature were worshiped of course under the form of a male deity. In the earlier stage of Babylonian religion, a trinity according to the forces of nature was worshiped, Anu the Sky, Shamash the Sun, and Sin the Moon. Adad, the Storm- and Thunder-god was held to be the son of Anu. For our purpose it is Adad, the Storm-, Rain-, and Wind-god that interests us in particular, because he is the consort of the Earth-goddess. His symbol is the thunderbolt; at times he wields the double ax with which he splits the firmament and the trees of the forest. As a kindly god he sends gentle rain that refreshes the earth. When he is angry he sends a deluge that floods the earth, bringing catastrophe upon catastrophe. In the course of time he becomes a god of vegetation, because rain is absolutely necessary for its growth.<sup>186</sup> It is only natural that the Storm-god who fructifies the earth should become the husband of Mother-Earth. In northern Syria he is called Hadad and his wife is Atargatis. But as we have seen he came as an outsider to Syria and his wife never lets him forget it. Not only does she attempt to prevent his seeing her sacred fish at Hieropolis, but she also receives different sacrifices, according to Lucian.<sup>187</sup> On our relief from Dura, Atargatis is given twice as much space as her consort occupies, her footstool is twice as broad, and her lions are more than twice the size of his bulls. All this clearly shows her predominance in northern Syria. She is the paramount

<sup>185</sup> Garstang, *L.H.*, p. 59, and n. 3. The Phrygian Storm-god is Bronton, later identified with Zeus; his type of head we have already discussed.

<sup>186</sup> For the connection of the Storm-god with vegetation see especially Hugo Prinz, *Altorientalische Symbolik* (Berlin, 1915), p. 128. In a text from Ur published by Gadd and Legrain, *Ur Excavations*, Texts, I, No. 145, Immer (Adad), son of Anu, is he "who goes upon the great rising storm . . . pouring out the clouds like troops over all the sky, multiplying plenty over all the land." In Text No. 165 Adad is called "the exalted judge," and in No. 276 is a curse: "May Adad not cause his plough-land to prosper."

<sup>187</sup> *de dea Syria* 44, and the note of Garstang, *Syrian Goddess*, p. 80. During the sacrifices to Zeus (Hadad) religious silence was kept, but the sacrifices to Juno (Atargatis) were accompanied by much noise, singing, piping, and the clashing of cymbals.



mistress, her husband only a partner by necessity. When this union of a local Aramaic Earth-goddess and a Mesopotamian Sky-god took place is not known. Nevertheless, we must image a ceremony similar to that when in the land of the Hittites an old Anatolian pre-Hittite Earth-goddess is wedded to the Sky-god Teshub. I am convinced that Garstang's ingenious interpretation of the famous reliefs on the cliffs of Iasily Kaya near Boghaz-Keui is correct.<sup>138</sup> According to him we see illustrated before our very eyes the wedding ceremony of the Father-god and the Mother-goddess. The national Teshub is carried to the ceremony on the shoulders of two priests, whereas the smaller figures of the same type are the Teshubs of the confederate states. Garstang suggests that the image of the national Teshub carried to the shrine of the Mother-goddess may be either the fusing of two religions or it may be symbolic of a royal alliance. Be this as it may, of especial interest to us is the fact that the Mother-goddess stands on the back of a lion and that she is followed by her son, who also stands on a lion. We have then in the land of the Hittites another example of nature's divine triad, a Father-god, a Mother-goddess, and a Son-god, in other words, a Teshub-Adad, an Atargatis-like goddess, and her divine son and lover.

On the seal cylinders of the Syro-Hittite period, however, Teshub is usually associated with the bull, the symbol of virile power, occasionally he stands on a mountain and holds a mace as War-god, a type which recalls the minor Teshubs on the cliffs of Iasily Kaya, although his usual attribute is the lightning which identifies him as a Storm-god.<sup>139</sup>

On the seal cylinders from Mesopotamia and Susa<sup>140</sup> the Storm-god

<sup>138</sup> Garstang, *H.E.*, pp. 95 ff., 114 ff., Pls. XXII-XXIV. These reliefs probably belong to the beginning of the thirteenth century B.C. For Teshub on other reliefs, notably at Malatia, see Contenau, *Glypt. syro-hittite*, pp. 45 f.; Garstang, *H.E.*, Pl. XXXVIII (a), p. 206, Fig. 17.

<sup>139</sup> Contenau, *Glypt. syro-hittite*, pp. 44-46, and Figs. 127, 128, 146, 152, 154-156, 159, 175; Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, Pl. VI, 164, 180; Pl. VIII, 235 (after 1000 B.C.). Legrain, *Culture of the Babylonians*, p. 36, for the first occurrence of Teshub about 1500 B.C. See also Dussaud, "La Lydie et ses voisins," p. 104, No. 2, and Pl. IV, 2, for a Syrian cylinder found at Ras Shamra on which Teshub is represented beside his bull (thirteenth-twelfth century B.C.); p. 105, No. 4, and Pl. III, 1.

<sup>140</sup> Delaporte, *Cylindres du Louvre*, D. 113, Pl. 53, 8, and S. 530, Pl. 36, 3 (Adad holding lightning and resting one foot on the back of a recumbent bull which he holds by a leash); D. 53, Pl. 51, 25, and D. 121, Pl. 53, 17 (lightning on back of bull as symbol of Adad); D. 127, Pl. 53, 23; A. 283, Pl. 77, 25; and A. 873, Pl. 94, 27 (Adad holding lightning and standing on bull; A. 556, Pl. 116, 9b (Babylonian fragment of an envelope); Pls. 118, 4; 88, 6 (Assyria; god with hatchet in hand, but without lightning, stands on a bull). For Adad with lightning in hand, and standing on a bull

Adad occurs earlier than on those of Hittite fabric where, as we have seen, Teshub does not occur before 1500 B.C.

The Hittite Teshub occurs also on other reliefs, as, for instance, at Senjirli<sup>141</sup> where, however, he is not associated with the bull, although his attributes, forked lightning and thunder-hammer, make his identification certain. On other Hittite monuments Teshub stands on a bull, as, for example, on a relief from Tell Ahmar in the Museum of Aleppo.<sup>142</sup>

At Senjirli again one finds Adad in a colossal statue;<sup>143</sup> here he is not, as usual, associated with bulls, but with lions. These are not the lions of the Earth-goddess—they are merely symbolic of royalty, and are being held by a man seen in front view. Characteristic of this statue of Adad is the curly hair arranged in incised spirals; note also the spiral curls of his beard, and that his upper lip is clean-shaved. In the general character of this monument there is a decided analogy to the colossal seated statue of Hadad found at Carchemish,<sup>144</sup> which dates to about 900 B.C. He holds in the left hand the double ax propped up against his knee, and in the right a mace.

which he leads by a leash on Syro-Cappadocian seal cylinders in the Louvre; *ibid.*, Pl. 95, 18; cf. also Pl. 95, 15 (lightning planted in ground) and 17 (Adad standing on bull). On seal cylinders of the Sumero-Akkadian period the following types occur: Pls. 79, 28; 83, 28 (lightning on back of bull); Pl. 83, 24 and 25 (Adad holding lightning and resting one foot on back of recumbent bull); Pl. 83, 23 (Adad without bull). The above-mentioned cylinders, with one exception (A. 283) which belongs to the epoch of Ur, are of the epoch of the First Babylonian Dynasty; here Adad wears a long shawl, and a horned tiara as symbol of divinity. Even his wife, Shala, holds the lightning on D. 114-115, Pl. 53, 10-11, and p. 76, and on D. 115 she stands on a zebu. Adad as Rain-god, holding a vase from which water spouts, occurs on A. 283, Pl. 77, 25.

<sup>141</sup> Garstang, *H.E.*, Pl. XLV, 1; Cook, *Zeus*, II, 767, Fig. 725; *Ausgr. in Sendschirli*, II, Pl. XLI, 1. See also the Hittite stele from Tell Ahmar in the Louvre, *Syria*, X (1929), Pl. XXXII, and the one found in Babylon, Cook, *Zeus*, II, 766, Fig. 724; Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*, p. 162, Fig. 103.

<sup>142</sup> *Syria*, X (1929), Pl. XXVIII; cf. the relief from Malatya, Garstang, *H.E.*, Pl. XXXVIII, *a*; on the same plate, *b*, Teshub stands on his thunderbolt and is winged; he too, then, is a Wind-god.

<sup>143</sup> Now in Constantinople (Istanbul), v. Luschan, *Ausgr. in Sendschirli*, III, Pl. XLVII; IV, Pl. LXIV; cf. II, Pl. VI and p. 49, for the similar statue from Gergin; Garstang, *H.E.*, p. 262, Fig. 28. Approximate date: 850 B.C. See the excellent observations by Ed. Meyer, *Reich u. Kultur der Chetiter*, pp. 111 ff.

<sup>144</sup> Woolley, *Carchemish*, Part II (1921), Pl. B. 25; Rostovtzeff, *A History of the Ancient World*, I, Pl. LIII, 1; *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, IV, 2, Pl. 197b, and p. 417; Schäfer and Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients* (Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte)

Adad in this period of about 1000–800 B.C. is usually associated with the bull and not the lion, so, for example, the colossal statue of the Storm-god found by Baron v. Oppenheim at Tell Halaf<sup>145</sup> in the land of the Mitanni in northern Mesopotamia on the Khabur River. It is noteworthy that this figure also has curly hair, a long beard, but no mustache.

As we have seen above, Adad is represented on a Sumero-Akkadian seal cylinder<sup>146</sup> as a Rain-god, standing on a bull and holding a vase from which water spouts. Adad is represented in the same manner on a kudurru found at Susa;<sup>147</sup> conspicuous is the high cylindrical headdress with a row of feathers on top as on the Assyrian bas-relief of Shamash-rêsh-uşur, governor of the Assyrian lands of Sukhi and Mari, where he is represented as god of the mountain,<sup>148</sup> with lightning in each hand. Here too Adad's beard and hair are very curly, but that is also true of the other deities of this stele. The same feather crown is worn by Adad

(Berlin, 1925), II, Pls. 562 and 563, where the two statues are conveniently illustrated side by side; *Syria*, I, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 37; for similar curls see the same plate in *Syria*, Fig. 7 (Syro-Cappadocian cylinder) and Fig. 39. Spiral curls are characteristic of the period and of Hittite art in general, and not only of Hadad. In Woolley, *op. cit.*, Pl. B. 27 = *Syria*, I, 286, Fig. 38, are seen spiral curls on a remarkable head which reminds us of the very archaic Elamite heads and the magnificent gold helmet from Ur with curly hair, see *Atlantis*, February, 1929, p. 119.

<sup>145</sup> *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung*, August 17, 1930, p. 1459; *Illustrated London News*, October 25, 1930, p. 705. Of the other monuments illustrated here the curly hair is conspicuous on the seated Adad-Teshub, who is grouped with an Earth-goddess, and also on the monster with human head and bird's body ending in a scorpion.

<sup>146</sup> Delaporte, *Cylindres du Louvre*, II, Pl. 77, 25 (A. 283, Epoch of Ur, 2450–2350 B.C.). For Adad as Rain-god on a Babylonian terra cotta figurine, see Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*, p. 273, Fig. 212.

<sup>147</sup> *M.D.P.*, I, 177, Fig. 383, which Dussaud, however, connects with the pouring of water into the chasm. On the kudurru, *loc. cit.*, p. 176, Fig. 382, Adad stands on a rampant bull as Storm-god, with lightning in his hand, and, as often on Babylonian cylinders, he leads the bull by a leash; on other kudurrus of the Cassite period, *loc. cit.*, Pl. XV, the lightning, as emblem of Adad, is placed on the back of a bull, again as on the cylinders. On the kudurru, No. XIII, in the Louvre, the lightning of Adad occurs alone, without Adad or bull, see *M.D.P.*, VII, 139, Fig. 451. On a charter granted by Nebuchadnezzar I, in the British Museum, of about 1140 B.C., we also find the lightning on the back of a bull, see King, *A History of Babylon*, plate to p. 296; *idem*, *Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial Tablets in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 29, Pl. XCI, and Rostovtzeff, *Hist. of Anc. World*, I, Pl. LI, 2.

<sup>148</sup> See King, *Hist. of Bab.*, p. 266, Fig. 64; Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*, p. 161, Fig. 102; Gressmann, *Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament* (2d ed., Berlin-Leipzig, 1927), Pl. CXXXI, 330. Date: ninth century B.C., or (according to Gressmann) seventh century.



again as god of the mountain with lightning in each hand on the lapis lazuli cylindrical bar, a seal dedicated in the temple of Esagila by Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.) but found in Babylon.<sup>149</sup> Here in addition to the bull he also leads by a leash a winged monster, a lion-griffin. Interesting is his body-sheath, three shields decorated with stars, a ziggurat on his chest, and the mass of jewelry.

Adad played a most important rôle among the Assyrians. In a cuneiform text of the seventh century B.C. from Assur, ten images are mentioned in the temple of Adad<sup>150</sup> at Assur; furthermore, there is mentioned in that text Adad from the city Kume<sup>151</sup> (= Kumme in southern Armenia); Adad from the city Halpi<sup>152</sup> (= Aleppo in Syria); the temple of Adad at Assur is referred to as "The House where prayers are answered,"<sup>153</sup> and "The House where there dwells Plenty";<sup>154</sup> also the ziggurat (temple tower) of Adad<sup>155</sup> is mentioned. In Assur there were also twin towers of Anu and Adad,<sup>156</sup> and a gate of Adad.<sup>157</sup>

The popularity of Adad in Assyria is furthermore attested by the occurrence of king's names compounded with Adad.<sup>158</sup> Assyrian kings frequently call upon his destructive power, and they thunder over their enemies like Adad the Thunderer. Ramman or Adad in Assyria is also the wind;<sup>159</sup> he reveals himself in tornadoes, wherefore he is sometimes represented with wings.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>149</sup> King, *op. cit.*, p. 271, Fig. 65; Koldewey, *op. cit.*, p. 217, Fig. 134; Gressmann, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXXX, 326; Cook, *Zeus*, II, 769, Fig. 731. For the body-sheath and its meaning see Val. Müller, *loc. cit.*, p. 97.

<sup>150</sup> Eckhard Unger, "Das Stadtbild von Assur" in *Der Alte Orient*, Band 27, Heft 3 (Leipzig, 1929), pp. 12 f., ll. 59-62.

<sup>151</sup> L. 114.

<sup>152</sup> L. 115.

<sup>153</sup> L. 152.

<sup>154</sup> L. 153.

<sup>155</sup> L. 178.

<sup>156</sup> Unger, *loc. cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>157</sup> Unger, *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 5. Jahrgang, No. 6, February 20, 1929, p. 62. At Babylon there was also a gate of Adad; and at Uruk-Warka a temple and a gate were named after him, see *ibid.*, November 1, 1929, p. 353, who refers to documents which frequently mention Adad's quarter of the city, his temple, and gate. See also Jordan, *Uruk-Warka*, p. 19, for the worship of Hadad in one of the seven cells of the Anu-Antum temple of the Hellenistic period; this was a copy of the earlier temple.

<sup>158</sup> See Jeremias, in Roscher, *Lex.*, s.v. *Ramman* = *Adad*, cols. 31 ff.

<sup>159</sup> Unger, "Die Offenbarung der Gottheit durch den Windhauch," *Forsch. u. Fortschr.*, August 10 and 20, 1929, p. 270. Cf. the inscription from Ur (Gadd and Legrain, *Ur Exc.*, Texts, No. 145), where the king expresses the wish that Immer (Adad) may grant him "winds of plenty."

<sup>160</sup> As, for example, on an alabaster relief in the British Museum from the palace of Ashur-nasir-pal III (884-866 B.C.), see Cook, *Zeus*, II, 768, Fig. 728.

On an Assyrian cliff-relief from Maltaja, near Nineveh, Adad is the sixth god in the procession of seven deities, the seventh being Ishtar standing on a lion. Here again Adad is a god of the wind and therefore stands on a winged bull.<sup>161</sup> The statue of Adad carried on the shoulders of four Assyrian priests is seen on an Assyrian bas-relief from Nineveh;<sup>162</sup> on the same relief three goddesses are also so represented, two of them sitting on their thrones. I do not believe that they are being taken from a captured Babylonian town; it seems more probable that they are being carried to the river for a sacred bath.<sup>163</sup> In this representation Adad has four horns on his head, two in front and two in back; in his right hand he holds an ax and in his left, a thunderbolt.

On Assyrian seal cylinders of the ninth and eighth centuries Adad is very frequently illustrated.<sup>164</sup>

In Syria the Storm-god Adad was called Hadad, and Syrians of today still bear the name.<sup>165</sup> On Syrian cylinders Hadad is represented, as on the Hittite cylinders, with bull and lightning.<sup>166</sup> Indeed, the impress of the art of the Hittites is seen throughout Syria where the old forms of the Hittite gods and symbols continue to exist to the end of Roman times, not only at Bambyce-Hieropolis, but also at Doliche and elsewhere. Also in the art of the Persians who conquered what was once

<sup>161</sup> Ed. Meyer, *Reich u. Kultur der Chetiter*, p. 93, Fig. 72. Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, II, Fig. 313; Gressmann, *Altor. Bild.*, Pl. CXXXV; Frank, *Bilder und Symbole*, p. 2, Fig. 1; see also p. 11, Fig. 4, a detail of the Esarhaddon stele, where Adad holding lightning stands on his bull.

<sup>162</sup> Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh* (1849), Pl. 65; Gressmann (*op. cit.*, Pl. CXXXVI, 336) surmises that these are Aramaean or Arabian deities; King, *Hist. of Bab.*, p. 295, Figs. 66-68 (detail).

<sup>163</sup> Lucian *de dea Syria* 47, tells of a great festival at Hieropolis, called "The descent into the lake," on which occasion the statues of Atargatis and of Hadad were brought down to the lake. See also U. Wilcken, *Zu den "Syrischen Göttern,"* Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann (Tübingen, 1927), pp. 17 f.

<sup>164</sup> See Unger, *Reallex. d. Vorgesch., s.v. Religion*, XI, 120, and *idem*, *Assyrische u. Babylon. Kunst* (1927), Figs. 45, 47, 49, 50; Delaporte, *Cylindres du Louvre*, Pl. 88, 6; Legrain, *Culture of the Babylonians*, No. 571.

<sup>165</sup> There is a Syrian in New London, Connecticut, by the name of Haddad.

<sup>166</sup> See, however, Dussaud, "La Lydie et ses voisins," p. 104, No. 2, and Pl. IV, 2, for a Syrian cylinder found at Ras Shamra on which Hadad, clothed in Egyptian fashion, holds a harpe and stands beside a zebu. Here he is associated with a nude goddess (Atargatis?), lifting her drapery. As on Hittite seals (Hogarth, *Hitt. Seals*, Pl. VI, No. 179), she does not stand on the bull, but hovers in the air over it or stands behind it. Date: about 1200 B.C.

the Hittite land there is Hittite influence. On the other hand the Hittites, as we have seen, adopted the principal cult of Anatolia where, in the third millennium, the god of storm and of thunder was already fixed. Ultimately, however, the idea of a Storm-god and of an Earth-goddess goes back to Elam, where we have found it as early as 3000 B.C.

There is also Egyptian influence in the Orient, especially in the time of the Empire when the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty adopted a policy of offense, and when Thutmose III conquered Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine. From that time down to the Persian period there is found frequent Egyptian influence in the art of Syria, and Syrian influence in the art of Egypt. And so we see a curious mixture of Egyptian and oriental elements in the goddess ẖadeš, a goddess of love entirely Egyptian in form with the horns of Hathor and the solar disk, but standing in frontal view on a lion.<sup>167</sup> A goddess facing and standing on a lion is not an Egyptian, but a Babylonian conception.

Similarly there has come down to us a most remarkable bronze statuette of an Egyptianized Hadad (Pl. XX) from Syria,<sup>168</sup> now in the Louvre. We have in this figure, as Dussaud says, a form more ancient than the Jupiter Heliopolitanus, the Hadad of Baalbek. Only the upper part is preserved, so that the bulls which must have accompanied the idol are no longer preserved. Only the breasts are modeled, otherwise the body is herm-shaped. There is no evidence of the body-sheath which hangs from the shoulders of the Jupiter Heliopolitanus of Roman times. The ears are pierced for earrings. The face is long and narrow, the eyes very large with prominent eyelids and eyebrows; the mouth is small. The headdress shows decided Egyptian influence. Hadad wears the conical cap of the Syro-Phoenician gods, but it is embellished with a misunderstood Egyptian atef-crown, which in Egypt is flanked with a pair of long ostrich plumes, and having the solar disk and uraeus in front. On our example, however, the uraeus is on the lower rim of the cap and is flanked with the horns of the Bull-god, Hadad. On top of the cap, which is much reduced, is the solar disk between uraei. The ostrich plumes which flank the cap would never be recognized as such without comparison with the Egyptian prototype. The ram's horns which in the

<sup>167</sup> Ed. Meyer, in Roscher, *Lex.*, s.v. *Astarte*, col. 653 (illustration); see also Gressmann, *Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-römischen Zeitalter*, p. 65, Fig. 24; W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 314 f.

<sup>168</sup> First published by Dussaud, *Syria*, I, 11 ff., Fig. 3. M. Dussaud has kindly supplied the photograph illustrated on our plate.



Egyptian atef-crown support the ostrich feathers are here placed on top of the plumes, and have become decorative scrolls. New in the decoration is the eagle between the ram's horns; its head is broken off. The eagle in connection with the Syrian god we have already discussed in connection with the eagle as a fetish. The date of this unique statuette is difficult to ascertain with certainty; according to Dussaud it belongs to the Persian epoch.

We now come to the Hellenistic, Parthian, and Roman periods, and here it will be more convenient to discuss both Hadad and Atargatis under one heading, for they have become inseparable. If we find only one mentioned in an inscription of a certain place we may with considerable confidence infer that both of them were worshiped there.

That the Parthians worshiped Atargatis under the name of Anahit (Anaïtis) is attested by a mold in the possession of Sarre, and now exhibited in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.<sup>169</sup> It was acquired at Aleppo and belongs to the third century A.D. Here a Parthian prince—a star indicates his rank—in typical frontal view is pointing to a statue of Anahit in or before an aedicula, the columns of which are surmounted by Victories. The goddess raises her right hand, palm outward, in blessing or protection<sup>170</sup> as does also Atargatis in our relief from Dura. With her left hand she is pulling aside her mantle so as to show her transparent chiton and the star-like flower of six petals between her breasts. She stands on a lion as does also the Persian Anahit in a cylinder of the fourth century B.C. found at Kertch.<sup>171</sup> Her royal crown, the polos, is decorated with the keston, a fillet of precious stones, which reminds one of the keston worn in the same way by the Syrian goddess at Hieropolis;<sup>172</sup> the large central jewel may be the lychnis, also worn by the Syrian goddess.

In Syria, as we have seen, the most important sanctuary of Atargatis was at Hieropolis (always written Hieropolis, not Hierapolis, on the coins). The earliest of these coins, which date to about 332 B.C., repre-

<sup>169</sup> Sarre, *Die Kunst*, Pl. 65; Sarre und Herzfeld, *Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, IV, Pl. CXLII, No. 4; Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 266, Fig. 58.

<sup>170</sup> For the gesture of protection see Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 71.

<sup>171</sup> Illustrated Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen* (1900), III, p. 120, Fig. 81. This Graeco-Persian cylinder which was found in a wooden sarcophagus of the fourth century B.C. represents a Persian king standing in adoration before his goddess.

<sup>172</sup> Lucian *de dea Syria* 32; see above, p. 107, n. 31, for Zahn's convincing arguments that Lucian's text must not be emended to mean that the keston was a girdle.

sent the bust of the famous cult-statue both in front and in side view.<sup>173</sup> The hair of the goddess falls in long curls over her shoulders; she wears a necklace, and on her head a mural crown surrounded by the *kestos*, a fillet decorated with precious stones.<sup>174</sup> In the field at the left are symbols of the sun and the moon, and at the right an Aramaic inscription which reads 'Atar-'Ate, probably to be interpreted as Attar the wife of Ate. Attar seems to be the equivalent of Ishtar, and Ate of Attis. At least it is certain that Ate is usually a male deity; his head which occurs on another silver coin of Hieropolis<sup>175</sup> is quite youthful in appearance, and in oriental fashion he wears necklace and earrings. He is inscribed in Aramaic as 'Ate.<sup>176</sup>

Under Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.) the coins of Hieropolis<sup>177</sup> indicate that Hadad was identical with Zeus; the humped bull, at the feet of Zeus, makes the identification certain. Recall the words of Lucian<sup>178</sup> in his description of the cult-statue of Hadad and Atargatis: "And certainly the image of Zeus resembles Zeus in all points." Furthermore, on the coins of Hieropolis which belong to the first half of the third century A.D. we find, as we have already seen (p. 115), an illustration of the cult-statues of these deities corresponding in every respect to the description of Lucian.

Other coins of Hieropolis, besides those which show the cult-statues,

<sup>173</sup> Babelon, *Cat. d. Monnaies Grecques de la Bibl. Nat., Les Perses Achéménides* (Paris, 1893), Pl. VII, 16 (side view of goddess to left), reverse: the Persian king in a biga driven by a charioteer; Pl. VII, 17 (front view of goddess), reverse: 'Abd-Hadad, "servant of Hadad," a local dynast standing to left in front of an Ionic temple abbreviated to two columns which support a triangular roof. He wears a conical cap, a long robe, and is sacrificing at an altar. 'Abd-Hadad is officiating as priest of Atargatis. The obverse of this coin has been frequently illustrated: see above, p. 108, n. 31. Both are silver didrachms.

<sup>174</sup> Lucian *de dea Syria* 32.

<sup>175</sup> Babelon, *op. cit.*, Pl. VII, 18. On the reverse a lion devouring a bull may refer to the superiority of Atargatis over Hadad in Syria; the Aramaic inscription is that of Alexander. The coin was therefore struck in the name of that king.

<sup>176</sup> Dussaud, *Notes de myth. syr.*, p. 83, however, interprets the head of this coin as female, and 'Ate as a female deity. If the inscription on another coin struck in the name of Alexander (Babelon, *op. cit.*, p. lii, Fig. 15) reads 'Ate behind the figure of Atargatis riding on a lion, then 'Ate is surely feminine. See also the explanation of the name Atargatis as an Aramaic compound of the Syrian and Cicilian forms 'Athar and 'Ate in Garstang, *H.E.*, p. 305, n. 2 and R. Campbell Thompson in Woolley, *Carchemish*, Part II, p. 137, where the bibliography is given.

<sup>177</sup> Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, Pl. XIV, 9.

<sup>178</sup> *de dea Syria* 31.

represent either the lion alone as an emblem of the Syrian goddess<sup>179</sup> or the goddess riding on a lion,<sup>180</sup> or seated on a throne flanked with lions.<sup>181</sup> From these examples we may infer that Atargatis was much more popular at Hieropolis than her consort Hadad, although the humped bull as his emblem does occur occasionally on the coins of that city.<sup>182</sup>

Atargatis is occasionally represented as Tyche.<sup>183</sup> We have seen in our discussion of the coins of Carrhae (p. 116), that on a coin of Gordian III the bust of Tyche is represented with a crescent over her head; she is therefore associated with Selene or Artemis, who were often identified with Atargatis in the Orient.<sup>184</sup> Lucian in his description of the cult-statues of Zeus (Hadad) and Hera (Atargatis) at Hieropolis associates the latter with Selene, Artemis, and Nemesis (Fortuna, Tyche), and reports that she wears a mural crown.<sup>185</sup> In the famous paintings found in the temple of the Palmyrene gods at Dura we see the Tyche of Dura and the Tyche of Palmyra depicted side by side;<sup>186</sup> the latter has a lion at her left side, which indicates her identification with Atargatis. Furthermore, on the coins of Palmyra are representations of Atar-

<sup>179</sup> Macdonald, *Hunterian Coll.*, III, 138, 21 (Commodus); *B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., Pl. XVII, 11.

<sup>180</sup> Macdonald, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXI, 25 (Severus Alexander); *B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., Pl. XVII, 15 (Caracalla), and p. 145 (Philip, Junior); see also Cumont, *Dar.-Sagl.-Pottier, Dict.*, IV, 2, p. 1593, Fig. 6700.

<sup>181</sup> *B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., Pl. XVII, 14 and 17; Macdonald, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXI, 22 (Caracalla), 24 (Severus Alexander).

<sup>182</sup> *B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., Pl. XVII, 8 (time of Antoninus Pius).

<sup>183</sup> On a stele in the Vatican with a dedicatory inscription to Jupiter Heliopolitanus, Tyche stands between two lions, thereby identifying her with Atargatis, see Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des vatikanischen Museums*, I, 270, and Pl. 30, No. 152; Dussaud, *Syria*, I, 10, Fig. 2. Tyche is also represented on the base of the Sursock Jupiter Heliopolitanus, Dussaud, *ibid.*, Pl. I. On a graffito found at Baalbek we see Tyche and a winged Nemesis = Atargatis with a pair of scales, see Winnefeld, *Baalbek*, II, 127, Fig. 180, and on a coin from Palmyra a winged Nemesis with a pair of scales is on the reverse and three phases of the Palmyrene Bel on the obverse, see *Annali dell' Inst.*, 1860, Tav. d'agg. R, 2; De Saulcy, *Terre Sainte*, Pl. XXIV, 8.

<sup>184</sup> For Tyche in Syria see Ruhl, Roscher, *Lex.*, s.v., cols. 1354 ff.; cf. Thiersch, *Zu den Tempeln von Baalbek*, p. 11 for Tyche = Atargatis in the small temple at Baalbek; see also Cumont, *Ét. Syr.*, p. 266 and n. 3; *idem*, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.*, s.v. *Dea Syria*, col. 2240, for the interpretation of Atargatis as *athar gade*; cf. also Gauckler, *Le Sanctuaire Syrien du Janicule*, p. 152; Ed. Meyer, Roscher, *Lex.*, s.v. *Astarte*, col. 651 (Tyche the Syrian Gad).

<sup>185</sup> *de dea Syria* 15 and 32.

<sup>186</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 110, and Pl. LI.



gatis seated on a lion, or a lion accompanied by a crescent,<sup>187</sup> and on some of the Palmyrene tesserae are found small oval reliefs with impressions of Tyche surrounded by the crescent and star.<sup>188</sup> At Dura itself was found a statuette of Fortuna<sup>189</sup> in the temple of Artemis, and Tyche was identified with Artemis at Gerasa, according to a coin-type of that place with the legend Ἀρτεμις Τύχη Γεράσων.<sup>190</sup> Another bit of evidence for the close connection between Atargatis and Tyche is furnished by the frequently cited inscription found at Palmyra which speaks of offerings to Malachbel, the Tyche Thamieios, and Atargatis.<sup>191</sup> The reason for this close connection between Atargatis and Tyche can be explained by the fact emphasized by Cumont<sup>192</sup> that the Semitic Baal and Baalat were always regarded as protectors of the tribe, and that throughout the Orient Atargatis was always considered to be a θεά πολιοῦχος.

It is important once more to emphasize the close connection of cults at Dura and at Palmyra. The Palmyrene temple at Dura is arranged for a cult similar to that of the temples of Artemis and of Atargatis. There has been as yet but little evidence for the worship of Hadad at Palmyra, except on some coins published by De Saulcy<sup>193</sup> and on a few tesserae, witness the tessera in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, which represents Hadad seated between bulls on one side (Pl. XIX, 2) and the zebu of Hadad on the other, and the tessera in the Museum of the American University of Beirut,<sup>194</sup> where we find on the reverse Atargatis with scepter and Hadad with double ax and a lion which he supports by the forepaws. It seems as if Hadad at Palmyra, Dura, and Hieropolis was only of secondary importance—an associate of necessity

<sup>187</sup> *B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. 150, Nos. 6 and 7, Pl. XVIII, 3 and 4; De Saulcy, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXV, 1.

<sup>188</sup> See the example in the Ottoman Museum, Istanbul, mentioned by Lidzbarski, *Eph.*, III, 156, No. N.

<sup>189</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 199, Pl. LXXXII, 1.

<sup>190</sup> See *B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., pp. lxxxviii f.; *B.M.C.*, Arabia, etc., pp. 31 f. and p. xxxv; Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 111, n. 4; De Saulcy, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXII, 1.

<sup>191</sup> De Vogüé, *Inscriptions sémitiques*, No. 3, p. 7 (Greek text, *C.I.G.*, 4480 = Waddington, 2588); Chabot, *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre*, p. 42, and the bilingual text on Pl. XXI, 2.

<sup>192</sup> Cumont, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.*, IV, col. 2239; *idem*, Dar.-Sagl.-Pottier, IV, 2, p. 1593.

<sup>193</sup> *Terre Sainte*, Pl. XXV, 6 and 22 (zebu with crescent above), 8 (bust of Hadad, rev., recumbent zebu).

<sup>194</sup> Lidzbarski, *Eph.*, III, 152, No. A, Pl. XII, 1.

—in the cult of Atargatis. Because of the close ritualistic connections between Dura and Palmyra it may be that the cult of Atargatis at Dura was introduced from Palmyra and not from Hieropolis.

## V. THE COINS

BY A. R. BELLINGER

The soil of Dura is inhospitable to bronze. Cumont (*Fouilles*, p. 278) describes the state of the coins from his excavations; a state so lamentable that Blanchet, to whom he turned them over, could identify only thirteen out of about two hundred. We have fared better than that, due to the patient coöperation of a number of people: Mrs. Clark Hopkins, Mrs. A. R. Bellinger, Mrs. John Gee, Miss Katharine Atwater, and Mr. Frederick Whitney. We have been able to identify somewhere around 70 per cent of the casual pieces, not counting the two hoards, which were, of course, almost all legible. But it is not possible to report yet on all the material from the two campaigns of 1928-29 and 1929-30. A certain number have not yet been cleaned at all, some need further work before they can be read, and a few, while as clean as they can be made, are so worn or obscure that they have not yet been identified, though there is still hope for them. No attempt will be made to publish the coins fully until the end of the excavations, but we intend to print currently a summary record of those already identified with the conclusions which may fairly be drawn from them. The accidents of transportation made perfect accuracy very difficult, and there is a regrettably large number of coins whose exact provenance is uncertain, but we shall be careful to use their evidence no farther than that uncertainty will warrant.

The first point to be considered is the information which the coins give about the history of the site as a whole and of the various buildings excavated. A most gratifying addition to our previous information is furnished by the Seleucid series, which stretches from Seleucus I (306-281 B.C.) to Antiochus VIII (121-96 B.C.) and includes nine different reigns. The other finds show such a strong predominance of late material that it is surprising to find that between 20 and 25 per cent of the coins are Seleucid, of which the greatest number are of the late third and early second centuries B.C. Aside from this testimony to the thriving condition of the town, we learn that its normal relations were with the west, for, with one exception, all the Seleucid coins come from the mint

of Antioch, and that exception is from Seleucia Pieria. Of coins from the south or east there is not a trace, not even an illegible piece which might be conjecturally assigned to some eastern mint. Not until we reach the Parthian period is there any evidence of contact with the lands down the river or across the river, and even then it is slight. Of that traffic across the desert which later brought the strong Palmyrene influence to Dura, we have only the slight testimony of one coin of John Hyrcanus I of Jerusalem, and one from Aradus, both of the second century B.C. During the first centuries of its life, then, the town's relations on the outside world depended chiefly on the road that ran up the Euphrates and then west to Antioch, and, so far as the coins give us grounds to judge, that condition lasted through Roman times as well.

If the remains of Seleucid control are surprisingly abundant, the remains of Parthian control are surprisingly scanty. Two silver pieces and two bronzes are all that have so far come to light struck by the Parthian kings. These are supplemented by a few of the small, ill-made flans of municipal issues, most of them indecipherable and none as yet identifiable with any published type. But the whole number is hardly more than a dozen, so that, if we were dependent on the coins alone for information we should conclude that Parthian influence was slight and almost accidental. But the latest Seleucid piece is not later than 96 B.C., while the earliest Roman piece is not before 41 A.D. and in that gap there is nothing that falls except the two drachms of Phraates IV, 38-3 B.C. Parthian currency was certainly used at Dura and later campaigns may give us more of it, but the time during which it was the exclusive currency cannot have been more than a century and a half. As will be seen by the "Recapitulation by Roman Emperors," pp. 159 f., Roman coins begin to find their way into this Parthian outpost over a century before the victory of Lucius Verus which gave the town to the empire. In this connection it is interesting to remember that we have the testimony of a parchment to the fact that Roman tetradrachms were in use in the reign of Hadrian (see below, p. 148).

The yield of Palmyrene coins was also disappointingly small. To be sure, their size makes them very easy to be overlooked, so that the proportion recovered is presumably less than in the case of the large pieces; they are also harder to read, and there are a few which may still be identified. But, considering how great a part Palmyrene influence is supposed to have played at Dura, we were justified in expecting a much



larger number of these distinctive little pieces. Our present knowledge of them is so far from satisfactory that we can only hope that later campaigns will give us more material. Compared with the output of a mint like Antioch, Palmyra can never have issued any large quantity of money; we must not demand too much on the score of its nearness, but, in view of the paucity of Palmyrene coins found, it is certainly suggestive that there are so few other coins that might have come to Dura by way of Palmyra. The "Recapitulation by Mints" (p. 159) shows but seven which may have traveled the route across the desert: the three from Palmyra itself, two from Palestine, and two from Aradus (I am not here considering the two hoards, to be discussed presently, because I am sure that, wherever the tetradrachms were struck, they all came to Dura by the same route, that is, through Antioch). Is it accidental that all of these last four come between the end of Seleucid domination and the capture of Dura by the Romans? Is it possible that, during the Parthian *régime*, the caravan route had an importance which it lacked earlier and later when the road down the Euphrates was in constant use? Yet the Antiochene coins of the earlier Roman emperors show that the road was not closed, and, if the way through Palmyra was of great importance, why have we so little from the mints of south Syria and Palestine? It is particularly surprising that Damascus is not represented at all. It is, of course, too soon to form conclusions, but it must be remarked that, at present, the numismatic evidence shows little contact with the west through Palmyra.

The season of 1928-29 produced two hoards, the larger and more important found intact with the pot in which it was buried in the house next to the Palmyrene Gate on the north, the smaller during the excavation for the Expedition House; this latter may not have been recovered complete, and at least one of the pieces with it by the time it reached America cannot have formed part of it originally. Notice of these discoveries has already been published (*Rep. II*, pp. 10, 76, 78) but not quite accurately. They are in one place described as bronze, in another as partly silver, partly bronze covered with a thick coat of silver. As a matter of fact they are the base silver of which third-century Roman coins regularly consist, and the corrosion of the copper in them covered them with a green patina which led to their being mistaken for bronze. Since they could not be dealt with in this report with the fulness they deserve, the American Numismatic Society has generously allowed

them to be published in a separate volume of the *Notes and Monographs*<sup>1</sup> to which the reader is referred for illustration and discussion. It will be sufficient here to give a summary.

## HOARD I

	<i>Tetradrachms</i>		<i>Antoniniani</i>	
	<i>Antioch</i>	<i>Other Mints</i>	<i>Antioch</i>	<i>Other Mints</i>
Caracalla	2	Apamea 1 Aradus 1 Emesa 1 Tyre 1	1	
Macrinus		Aradus 1 Beroea 1 Carrhae 2 Emesa 2 Mopsus 2 Tarsus 1 Uncertain 2		
Diadumenianus		Aradus 1 Hieropolis 1 Tyre 1		
Elagabalus	39			
Julia Mamaea				Uncertain 1
Gordian III	18		140	
Philip	165		1	
Trajan Decius	148		4	
Trebonianus Gallus	117		36	
Valerian and Gallienus			80	Rome 19
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	489	18	262	20
	18			
	262			
	20			
	<hr/>			
	789 <sup>2</sup>			

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Bellinger, *Two Roman Hoards from Dura-Europos* (1931).

<sup>2</sup> *Rep. II* gives the figure 818. The difference is made up by illegible pieces and fragments.

## HOARD II

	<i>Tetradrachms</i>	<i>Other Mints</i>	<i>Antoniniani</i>
<i>Antioch</i>			<i>Antioch</i>
Caracalla		Edessa 1	
Elagabalus	2		
Gordian III	3		4
Philip	13		1
Trajan Decius	43		
Trebonianus Gallus	27		
	—	—	—
	88	1	5
	1		
	5		
	—		
	94		

For the sake of brevity, Philip, Jr., and Otacilia are included with Philip; Herennia Etruscilla, Herennius Etruscus, and Hostilian with Trajan Decius; Volusian with Trebonianus Gallus. In all these cases it was the emperor who issued the coins though he sometimes put on them the names and portraits of other members of his family. It will be noticed that Severus Alexander is not represented at all. He struck no tetradrachms—perhaps as a part of the sound but unpopular policy of economy which led to his downfall—and seems to have found the abundant silver issues of Elagabalus sufficient for his needs.

These tetradrachms and Antoniniani of the mint of Antioch are evidently the normal silver currency of the town; we find them casually in various parts of the excavations. Their only competitors would be either the drachms and tetradrachms of the dying Parthian empire or, after 226, the coinage of the Sassanians. What we know of the relations of Dura from other sources is confirmed by the fact that we have no instances of this late Parthian currency, and only one of the Sassanian. It will be seen that the second hoard is largely an echo of the first, except that it does not extend so far down. Because of its condition it is less safe to draw conclusions from the smaller find, so we shall proceed to consider the larger one.

There are two reasonable explanations of the origin of this hoard: it may have belonged to a temple or it may have belonged to a soldier.



Rostovtzeff shows (pp. 37 ff.) that the house next door was a sanctuary of some sort, and the inscriptions on the Palmyrene Gate prove that there was a shrine of the Tyche of Dura near by (*Rep. II*, pp. 155 ff.). What more natural than that some priest hid this temple treasure, in time of danger, in the house where perhaps he himself lived? The jewelry found in the same place (*Rep. II*, pp. 78 ff.) which seems to date from the second century may have been a part of the same treasure, but it cannot be used to prove that the sanctuary was in existence in the second century, for, in that case, we should certainly have had coins earlier than Caracalla.

The other possibility is that the hoard was a soldier's treasure, for in the same building were found two iron chariot wheels (*Rep. II*, p. 10) less suggestive of religion than of war, and we should not have needed the profusion of soldiers' names on the Gate to prove that there must have been a guard stationed there. It would be quite possible for a thrifty petty officer, or even a legionary, to put by so much money, and that hypothesis would account for the uniformly fine condition of the coins from Elagabalus down, from the point of view of circulation. Either our supposititious soldier came to Dura in 218 or thereabouts with a few better worn pieces in his purse, or in the first years of his duty there the paymaster's office was not so well organized. But, from the time of Elagabalus onward, the pay was brought straight from the mint at Antioch, and he, prudent soul, put as much as he could spare in the clay jar where the money was found, patinated but unworn.

Whichever of these guesses be correct, it is clear what caused the burial of the jar. It was the attack of the Sassanians who destroyed the town. The latest coins of the hoard are those from the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus, that is, 259 at the latest. I believe there is none of them which should be dated after 256. It can hardly be doubted that the crisis which led to the burial of the hoard was an attack of Sapor I, who twice invaded Syria and destroyed Antioch (see below, p. 163). This conclusion is strengthened by the finding in the temple of Atargatis of one coin of Sapor I and part of another. This is the latest numismatic evidence of any kind that we have for Dura.

It is less easy to assign a reason for the burial of the second hoard, whose latest pieces are tetradrachms of Tribonianus Gallus. It may be that there was, during that brief reign, some disturbance of which we have no account, or it may be that the owner, whose taste ran rather to

tetradrachms, had been unable or unwilling to put by any of the smaller Antoniniani struck in the brief period between the last issue of tetradrachms (253) and the town's destruction. There is nothing unlikely in the supposition that both hoards were hidden at the same time by soldiers who went out to fight their last battle against the Sassanian invaders.

In Roman times, as in Seleucid, Antioch is the best represented mint, even excluding the hoards, and one is surprised to find that the series begins with Claudius when Dura was, of course, a Parthian city. Undoubtedly the reason is one that will occur to anybody who compares these honest bronzes with the contemporary Parthian issues, but it is interesting to find that, at a time for which we have unquestionable evidence of Parthian control, Parthian currency seems to have been entirely supplanted by Roman. As one would expect, other Roman mints furnish a reasonable quantity of coins. Most natural, and most considerable is the contribution from the Mesopotamian towns, Edessa, Carrhae, Nesibi, Singara, and Rhesaena, in that order of frequency. This is not quite the proportion we should expect but the numbers are so small that nothing can be proven by them. The only two Mesopotamian mints not represented are Anthemusias and Nicephorium. Of the rare coinage of the former we may have one piece, which is not yet sufficiently certain to be included in this list: possibly, also, some of the worn pieces attributed to Carrhae may actually be similar types from Anthemusias. Coins from Nicephorium (Raqqa) rest on the authority of Vaillant alone (see *B.M.C.*, Arabia, etc., p. cix). The attribution is very doubtful. The position of the town, on the direct road to Antioch and therefore the most accessible to Dura of all these cities, would make it almost certain that some of its coins should be found there. If, at the end of the excavations, we have none, we may reasonably decide that there was no such mint.

Aside from Antioch, the only Syrian cities represented are Hierapolis, Laodicea, and Zeugma, the two former twice, the latter once. It may be mere coincidence that three of these coins are of Antoninus Pius, the other two of Marcus Aurelius, but it is a curious circumstance taken in conjunction with the fact that none of the common bronzes of these emperors from Antioch appears on our list—nor, indeed, any Antiochene coin from Trajan (one found by Cumont) to Septimius Severus. But it is hardly worth while to search for solutions to a problem which the results of the next campaign may obliterate.

Another interesting question is the explanation of the presence of the Pontine coins of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. None of the coast towns appear, but Amasia furnishes nine pieces, Neo-Caesarea, three. These occur in various parts of the excavation, so that it is not a question of the stock of small change of a single foreigner. At present we can hardly conjecture what were the relations of Dura with that region so far away and apparently so difficult of access. Can it be that there was trade in timber from the Pontus, bought into Armenia and sent down the river? At any rate, it is worth noticing that, though the normal route for Pontine coins would be through Caesarea in Cappadocia, Caesarea's abundant coinage appears only twice as against twelve occurrences of the Pontus.<sup>1</sup>

Coins from Rome were, of course, to be expected, but no one would have looked for the three from the Peloponnesus, Mantinea, Orchomenos, and Pylos. They are, unfortunately, in poor condition, but their attribution is certain. They, like the Pontine coins, were found in different places and though they may have been all brought by one individual, since they are struck by Julia Domna, Geta(?), and Caracalla, still their presence is surprising enough. It is to be hoped that further evidence of contact with Greece will be forthcoming and that we may discover some means of judging whether that contact was through Antioch or through the Pontic region.

A word must be said about the important piece of numismatic evidence furnished by Parchment X, which was first published in the *Report of the Second Season*, and, more fully, in *Yale Classical Studies*, II, 1-78. It is a contract of loan of the year 121 A.D., and specifies that Phraates had loaned Barlaas four hundred drachmas ἀργυρίου καλοῦ τυρίου κόμματος. This phrase is translated "good silver of the Tyrian mint," on the basis of which Mr. Seltman contributes a note to explain why the mint of Tyre should be preferred to other mints in operation at the time. But the translation is questionable. τυρίου κόμματος, "Tyrian coinage," means coinage of the Tyrian standard rather than coinage of the Tyrian mint. There are objections to the latter meaning. First, Tyre was not coining in 121: the mint was closed by Hadrian at Trajan's death in 117. But Hadrian continued to mint at Antioch, though apparently in small quantities; there is a piece in the British Museum (*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. 187, No. 305) dating from his third (and last) consulship in 119. This objection is not, of course, fatal. Phraates might have had four-year-old Tyrian coins to lend.

<sup>1</sup> See Addenda.



But a more troublesome problem is to account for the special mention of Tyre. Mr. Seltman (*Y.C.S.*, II, 60) says, "In the past, I have several times seen such Trajanic Tyrian pieces, and I have a strong impression that they are of purer silver than say the contemporary tetradrachms issued from Antioch or Cappadocian Caesarea." I confess that this explanation leaves me very skeptical. For one thing, the silver of Caesarea is supposed to be good (*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. xxxvii) while that of Tyre is described as "usually base" (*B.M.C.*, Phoenicia, p. 298). For another thing, it is not exactly clear what Mr. Seltman thinks are the contemporary issues from Antioch. Hill said in 1910 (*op. cit.*, p. cxxxvii, n. 1), "The whole question of the division of these coins between Tyre and Antiochia has been carefully discussed by A. Dieudonné, *Revue Numismatique* (1909), pp. 165-174 and 458 ff., without coming to any very clear conclusion," and twenty years has brought us no nearer certainty. But, however one divides the issues, it will be no easy matter to demonstrate that one is of better silver than another. They all exhibit considerable variation of weight, and their composition may well vary also, but we should need very specific evidence before accepting the difficult theory that Trajan had two mints for tetradrachms as near each other as Antioch and Tyre, and that one was known to use better silver than the other.

But the greatest objection to the theory that these coins were struck at Tyre lies in the fact that coins of Tyre are very rare at Dura, coins of Antioch very common, as will be seen by the list. The proportion is not quite as excessive as would appear at first glance. For instance, from Elagabalus on there was no silver struck at Tyre. Then, it must be remembered that no coins of Hadrian have been found and only two of Trajan. One of these, however, is from Antioch (Cumont, p. 279). And it is certainly very striking that of the large and varied bronze series of Tyre we have no representative at all, while Antioch furnishes such a range of pieces. We are therefore forced into the assumption either that this parchment represents a wholly abnormal transaction or that just at that time Dura had unusual relations with Phoenicia. Now it must be remarked that the second Trajanic piece is from Aradus and that Cumont (*loc. cit.*) publishes another piece from Aradus, of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, while just at this time, as remarked above (p. 145), coins of Antioch are absent. But this is a slight basis for the supposition that if Phraates wanted Roman silver he got it from Tyre, across the desert rather than from Antioch by the river road.

We are safer in assuming that the reference is to the Tyrian standard as opposed to the Parthian, for the standard of Tyre was also that of Antioch, and tetradrachms could perfectly well be struck in the latter town and still be τυρίου κόμματος in this sense. The standard in question is the Phoenician to which Tyre returned in 126/5 B.C., when the Seleucid was replaced by the autonomous coinage. The pieces were properly shekels, but we have definite testimony that they were considered as tetradrachms in Josephus (*Bell. Jud.*, ii, 21, 2. Quoted by Eckhel, iii, p. 379) who speaks of τοῦ τυρίου νομίσματος, ὃ τέτταρας Ἀττικὰς (sc. δραχμὰς) δύνανται. The normal weight was about 14.3 grams, as shown by applying the frequency table to the British Museum's series of 175 pieces. This standard was adopted for Antioch when Antony and Cleopatra began to strike silver there, and was continued for the imperial issues. Until the time of Caracalla, the coins are somewhat heavier than the earlier Tyrian issues, running as high as 15 grams occasionally, but the correspondence is as close as one could ask from silver of such quality.

Later evidence may support the Tyrian theory, for instance, by showing that the river road was closed for military reasons in the period just before the Roman conquest of Dura (but then how did coins of Laodicea and Zeugma get there?) but, at present, it is most likely that what Phraates lent Barlaas was a hundred tetradrachms bearing the eagle of Antioch. In any event, we are indebted to the parchment for information about the coinage of the exact period from which we have, as yet, no coins.

Besides furnishing evidence on the site as a whole, the coins give us some valuable points on individual buildings. The oldest of them, that of Seleucus I, was found in the dump from the previous excavation of the so-called redoubt, corroborating the theory that the redoubt is one of the first buildings of the Greek city.

The temples, whose construction it is natural to date by the inscriptions found in them, as do Cumont and Rowell, have yielded a number of Seleucid pieces. Some of these were found in the room south of the naos of the temple of Artemis, evidently the scattered remains of a looted temple treasury. If such, they might, of course, have been brought into the building at any time from an earlier sanctuary. But the occurrence of Seleucid coins in other parts of both temples and in the street to the north makes it certain that this was a sacred place in the city's early days. The only question to be settled is whether it is the original

buildings of which we have the ruins or whether they replace earlier structures. This question is discussed further in this report (pp. 30 ff.) but cannot, of course, be settled until the study of the temples is completed.

One coin of Antiochus I from the temple of the Palmyrene gods indicates that this also goes back to Seleucid times, though it must be remembered that single pieces have a surprising power of getting into levels where they do not belong, and the frequency with which Seleucid coins appear on the surface makes it dangerous to rely too much on them for dating. Two of them, one of Antiochus VIII and one apparently even earlier, have already turned up from the citadel, which may necessitate assigning that structure to the Greeks instead of the Parthians. A few have also appeared from Tower 12 *ter* and the southwest bastion, but, in these cases, the proximity to dumps from other digs and the general vagueness of their provenance make it dangerous to draw conclusions. There are as yet no other cases, except that mentioned by Johnson (*Rep. II*, p. 151) where the coins give us important dates for particular buildings.

A summary list follows of the coins thus far identified.

### SELEUCIDS

(All except No. 1 are from Antioch)

*Seleucus I, Nicator*, 306–281 B.C.

1. Head of Zeus, r. *Rev.* Thunderbolt, ΣΕ]ΛΕΥΚΟΥ; beneath, monogram. 18 mm.

See illustration, p. 1. This piece, which will later be published with a photograph, is hitherto undescribed. Both in style and fabric it is exactly like the coins of Seleucus I struck at Seleucia Pieria (e.g., *B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. 269, Nos. 5 and 6; Pl. XXXII, 3) but, on all the pieces previously known, the inscription is ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ. A fuller discussion of this interesting coin is reserved for the final publication.

*Antiochus I, Soter*, 293–261 B.C.

2. Head of Antiochus, r. *Rev.* Apollo seated l. on omphalos; monogram to l. 16 mm. *Bab.* p. 20, Nos. 136 ff.
- 3, 4. Macedonian shield; on the base, anchor. *Rev.* horned elephant, r. 17 and 21 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, pp. 22 f.



*Seleucus IV, Ceraunus, 226-221 B.C.*

5. Head of Apollo, r. *Rev.* Tripod lebes bound with laurel. 15 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 42, No. 308.
- 6-15. Head of Apollo, r. *Rev.* Apollo seated l. on omphalos. 8-17 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 42, Nos. 311 ff.

*Antiochus III, The Great, 222-187 B.C.*

16. Head of Apollo, r. *Rev.* Apollo seated on omphalos. 12 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 53, Nos. 401 ff.
- 17-24. Head of Apollo, r. *Rev.* Apollo standing l., holding bow. 6-13 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 54, Nos. 405 ff.
- 25, 26. Bust of queen, veiled, r. *Rev.* Elephant's head, l. 16 mm., serrated, 14 mm., not serrated.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 56, Nos. 424 ff.

*Seleucus IV, Phitopator, 187-175 B.C.*

27. Archaistic head of Apollo, r. *Rev.* Apollo standing l. with elbow on tripod. 22 mm., serrated.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 63, Nos. 479 ff.
28. Bust of Artemis, r. *Rev.* Artemis standing l., with roe, l. 16 mm., serrated.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 65, Nos. 501 ff.
- 29-33. Bust of queen, r. *Rev.* Elephant's head, l. 9-14 mm., serrated.  
*Op. cit.*, pp. 65, 66, Nos. 505 ff.

*Demetrius I, Soter, 162-150 B.C.*

34. Bust of Artemis, r. *Rev.* Bow and quiver. 20 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, pp. 92, 93, Nos. 726 ff.
35. Same type. 16 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 93, Nos. 730, 731.

*Antiochus VI, Dionysus, 145-142 B.C.*

36. Head of Antiochus, r., rad. *Rev.* Nike l. holding wreath and palm. 24 mm., serrated.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 134, No. 1036.

*Cleopatra Thea and Antiochus VIII, Grypus, 125-121 B.C.*

37. Head of Antiochus VIII, r., rad. *Rev.* Owl on amphora. 19 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, pp. 173, 174, Nos. 1343 ff.
38. Head of Artemis, r. *Rev.* Rudder upright on a pedestal. 13 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 175, Nos. 1355 f.

*Antiochus VIII, Grypus, 125-96 B.C.*

- 39-42. Head of Antiochus, r., rad. *Rev.* Eagle l., with scepter. 19-20 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, pp. 177, 178, Nos. 1368 ff.

## PARTHIANS

*Phraates IV*, 38-3 B.C.

43. Bust of Phraates, l., bearded. *Rev.* Arsaces seated r. on throne. Drachm, 2.8 grams.  
Cf. *B.M.C.*, Parthia, pp. 122, 123.
44. Similar. Drachm, much broken.

*Vardanes I*, 41-45 A.D.

45. Bust of Tyche, r. *Rev.* Monogram, surrounded by BOYΛHC and date (illegible). 16 mm.  
Seleucia-on-the-Tigris.  
*Op. cit.*, p. xvi. The type is not published.

*Vologeses III*, 147-191 A.D.

46. Bust of king, l., bearded; EOY. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 15 mm.  
Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, 163/164 A.D.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 233, Nos. 73-75.

## PALMYRA

## First and second centuries A.D.

47. Female head, r. *Rev.* Palm tree. 14 mm.  
De Saulcy, Pl. XXIV, No. 10.
48. Male bust, r., rad. *Rev.* Female bust on crescent, r., rad. 7 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, Pl. XXV, No. 20.
49. Female bust, l., rad. *Rev.* Three grains of wheat; below, crescent. 6 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, Pl. XXV, No. 31.

## PALESTINE

*John Hyrcanus I*, 135-104 B.C.

50. Wreath. *Rev.* ♀ between two cornucopiae. 13 mm.  
*B.M.C.*, Palestine, pp. 188 ff.

*The Procurators.*

51. Crossed spears and shields. *Rev.* Palm-tree LIA. 18 mm.  
54 A.D.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 264.

## PHOENICIA

## ARADUS

*Post-Alexandrine*, 172-142 B.C.

52. Head of Zeus, r. *Rev.* Triple pointed ram of galley, l. 17 mm.  
Cf. *B.M.C.*, Phoenicia, pp. 16-19.

*Trajan, 98-117 A.D.*

53. Bust of Astarte, r.; in front, small head of Trajan. *Rev.* Humped bull galloping, l. 22 mm. Probably 166/7.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 47, Nos. 368 ff.

## MESOPOTAMIA

## CARRHAE

*Caracalla, 212-217 A.D.*

- 54-57. Bust, r. *Rev.* Crescent with star. 15-22 mm.  
*B.M.C.*, Arabia, etc., p. 84, Nos. 10, 11.  
 58-66. Bust, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 14-19 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 86, Nos. 31 ff.

*Severus Alexander, 222-235 A.D.*

67. Bust, l. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 27 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 88.

*Gordian III, 238-244 A.D.*

- 68-75. Bust, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, l. 30-31 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 89, Nos. 54-56.

## EDESSA

*Septimius Severus, 193-211 and Abgar VIII, 179-214.*

- 76-78. Bust of Severus, r. *Rev.* Bust of Abgar, r. 21-25 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, pp. 94 ff.

*Caracalla, 212-217.*

79. Bust, l. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, l. 18 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, pp. 97, 98, where the bust of Tyche is r.

*Macrinus, 217-218*

80. Bust, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 20 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 98, Nos. 47 ff.

*Elagabalus, 218-222.*

81. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 28 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, pp. 99 f.  
 82. Bust, l. *Rev.* Two busts of Tyche confronted. 27 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, pp. 101 f., Nos. 69 ff.  
 83. Bust, l., rad. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, l. 18 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 102, No. 72.



*Severus Alexander, 222-235.*

- 84-93. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 26-28 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, pp. 106 f.

*Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea, 222-235.*

94. Busts confronted. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 29 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 110, No. 118.

*Gordian III, 238-244.*

95. Bust, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, l. 28 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 111.

*Gordian III, 238-244 and Abgar X, 242-244.*

- 96-108. Bust of Gordian, r. *Rev.* Bust of Abgar, r. 24-26 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, pp. 114 f., Nos. 144 ff.

## NESIBI

*Severus Alexander, 222-235.*

- 109-114. Bust, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 26-29 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, pp. 119 f., Nos. 4-7.

*Gordian III, 238-244.*

115. Bust, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 31 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 121, Nos. 11-13.

*Gordian III and Tranquillina, 238-244.*

116. Busts confronted. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 34 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 121, Nos. 14, 15.

*Philip, Senior, 244-249.*

- 117-119. Bust, r. *Rev.* Temple with four columns. 27 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 122, Nos. 17-20.  
 120, 121. Bust, l., rad. *Rev.* Temple with four columns. 27 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 122, No. 22.

## RHESAENA

*Caracalla, 212-217.*

- 122, 123. Head, l., rad. *Rev.* Vexillum. 17 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 125.

*Herennia Etruscilla*, 249-251.

124. Bust, r. *Rev.* Temple in perspective, three-quarters, l. 27 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 133, Nos. 40, 41.

## SINGARA

*Gordian III*, 238-244.

- 125-128. Bust, r., rad. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 26-29 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 134, No. 1.

*Gordian and Tranquillina*, 238-244.

- 129, 130. Busts confronted. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 31 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 135, Nos. 8-11.

## SYRIA

## ANTIOCH

*Claudius*, 41-54.

- 131-134. Head, r. *Rev.* S C in wreath. 28 mm.  
*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. 171, Nos. 166-168.

*Vespasian*, 69-79.

135. Head, l. *Rev.* S C in wreath. 29 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 177, Nos. 216 ff.

*Titus?* 79-81.

136. Head, r. *Rev.* S C in wreath. 2 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 179, Nos. 235-237.

*Domitian*, 81-96.

137. Head, r. *Rev.* S C in wreath. 30 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 180, No. 243.  
 138-140. Bust, l. *Rev.* S C in wreath. 23-30 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 181, Nos. 245, 246.

*Nerva*, 96-98.

141. Head, r. *Rev.* S C in wreath. 28 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 182, Nos. 259 ff.

*Septimius Severus*, 193-211.

142. Bust, r. *Rev.* FORTVNA REDVC Fortune standing, l. R 1.75 grams.  
 Cohen, IV, 21 ff.

*Caracalla, 212-217.*

- 143-145. Head, r. *Rev.* S C in wreath. 23 mm.  
*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. 194, Nos. 354 ff.

*Elagabalus, 218-222.*

- 146-148. Bust, r. *Rev.* Spread eagle. Tetradrachm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 202, Nos. 416 ff.  
149-152. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 34-35 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, pp. 205 f., Nos. 451 ff.  
153. Head, r. *Rev.* ΔE in wreath. 22 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 205, Nos. 447 ff.

*Severus Alexander, 222-235.*

- 154-158. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 32-34 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, pp. 207 f., Nos. 470 ff.  
159. Bust, l. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 35 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 209, No. 482.  
160-162. Bust, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 31-34 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 209, Nos. 484 ff.

*Julia Mamaea, 222-235.*

163. Bust, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 28 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 210, Nos. 492, 493.

*Gordian III, 238-244.*

164. Bust, r., rad. *Rev.* IOVI STATORI Jupiter standing facing. Antoninianus.  
Cohen, V, 32, No. 109.

*Philip, Senior, 244-249.*

- 165, 166. Bust, l., rad. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 30 mm.  
*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. 215, No. 532.

*Philip, Junior, 244-249.*

167. Bust, r. *Rev.* Spread eagle. Tetradrachm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 218, Nos. 559 ff.  
168. Bust, r. *Rev.* Spread eagle. Tetradrachm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 217, No. 549.  
169-171. Bust, r., head bare. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 28-31 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 219, No. 564.  
172. Bust, r., rad. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 28 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 219, Nos. 573, 574.



*Trajan Decius, 249-251.*

173. Bust, r. *Rev.* Spread eagle. Tetradrachm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 220, No. 578.
174. Bust, r. *Rev.* Spread eagle. Tetradrachm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 221, No. 585.
175. Bust, r. *Rev.* Temple with four columns. 30 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 222, Nos. 600, 601.

*Trebonianus Gallus, 251-253.*

176. Bust, r. *Rev.* Spread eagle. Tetradrachm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 228, Nos. 642, 646.
- 177, 178. Bust, r., rad. *Rev.* IVNO MARTIALIS Juno seated, l. Antoninianus.  
 Cohen, V, 243, No. 46.

*Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, 251-253.*

179. Busts confronted. *Rev.* Temple with four columns. 30 mm.  
*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. 229, Nos. 656 f.

*Valerian, 253-260.*

180. Bust, r., rad. *Rev.* VIRTUS AVGG Soldier standing, l. Antoninianus.  
*R.I.C.*, I, 55, No. 227.

*Gallienus, 253-268.*

181. Bust, r., rad. *Rev.* VENVS VICTRIX Venus standing, l. Antoninianus.  
*Op. cit.*, I, 91, No. 298.

## HIEROPOLIS

*Marcus Aurelius, 161-180.*

- 182, 183. Head, r. *Rev.* Inscription in laurel wreath. 23 mm.  
*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., pp. 141 f.

## LAODICEA AD MARE

*Antoninus Pius, 138-161.*

184. Bust, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 26 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, pp. 254 f.
185. Head, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, l. 26 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 255, No. 66.

## ZEUGMA

*Antoninus Pius, 138-161.*

186. Head, r. *Rev.* Tetrastyle temple with peribolos. 24 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, pp. 124 f.

## CAPPADOCIA

## CAESAREA

*Marcus Aurelius*, 161-180.

187. Head, r. *Rev.* Mount Argaeus. 20 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 68, No. 181.

*Elagabalus*, 218-222.

188. Bust, r. *Rev.* Mount Argaeus on altar. 24 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 84.

## PONTUS

## AMASIA

*Septimius Severus*, 193-211.

189. Head, r. *Rev.* Flaming altar. 30 mm.  
*B.M.C.*, Pontus, etc., p. 8, No. 15.

*Caracalla*, 212-217.

- 190-195. Bust, r. *Rev.* Flaming altar. 28-32 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 11.  
196. Bust, r. *Rev.* Caracalla and Geta standing. 31 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 9, Nos. 17-20.  
197. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tyche standing, l. 33 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 10.

## NEO CAESAREA

*Septimius Severus*, 193-211.

198. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tetrastyle temple. 33 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 32, Nos. 2, 3.  
199, 200. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tetrastyle temple. 28-30 mm.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 33, Nos. 6-8.

## PELOPONNESUS

## MANTINEA

*Geta?* 209-212.

201. Bust, r. *Rev.* Figure standing, r. 25 mm.

## ORCHOMENOS

*Julia Domna*, 193-212.

202. Bust, r. *Rev.* Figure standing, l. 24 mm.

## PYLOS

*Caracalla*, 212-217.

203. Bust, r. *Rev.* Athena standing facing. 22 mm.

## ROME

*Vespasian*, 69-79.

204. Bust, r. *Rev.* Simpulum, aspergillum, jug, and lituus. Denarius.  
*R.I.C.*, I, 18, Nos. 30, 31.

*Titus*, 79-81.

205. Bust of Vespasian, r. *Rev.* Shield with S C and foreparts of goats. Denarius, 3 grams.  
*Op. cit.*, I, 123, No. 63.

*Faustina, Junior*, 145-161.

206. Bust, r. *Rev.* Standing figure S C Sestertius. 32 mm.

*Elagabalus*, 218-222.

207. Bust, r. *Rev.* LIBERTAS AVG Libertas standing, l. Denarius, 2.07 grams.  
Cohen, IV, 333, No. 90.

## UNCERTAIN MINT

*Julia Soemias*, 218-222.

208. Bust, r. *Rev.* VENVS CAELESTIS Venus standing, l. Denarius, 1.83 grams.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 389, No. 18.

*Julia Maesia*, 218-223.

209. Bust, r. *Rev.* PVDICITIA Pudicitia seated, l. Denarius.  
*Op. cit.*, p. 395, No. 36.

## SASSANIANS

*Sapor I*, 240-271.

210. Bust, r. *Rev.* Altar with two figures. *R.*, 28 mm.  
Valentine, pp. 37-39, Fig. 13.



*Recapitulation by Mints.*

Antioch (Seleucid 41, Roman 51)	92	Caesarea	2
Edessa	33	Hieropolis	2
Carrhae	22	Laodicea-ad-Mare	2
Nesibi	13	Palestine	2
Amasia	9	Seleucia-on-the-Tigris	2
Singara	6	Mantineia	1
Rome	4	Orchomenos	1
Neo Caesarea	3	Pylos	1
Palmyra	3	Seleucia Pieria	1
Rhesaena	3	Zeugma	1
Aradus	2	Uncertain (Parthian 2, Roman 2, Sassanian 1)	5

*Including the Hoards.*

Antioch (Seleucid 41, Roman 895)	936	Laodicea-ad-Mare	2
Edessa	34	Mopsus	2
Carrhae	24	Palestine	2
Rome	23	Seleucia-on-the-Tigris	2
Nesibi	13	Tyre	2
Amasia	9	Apamea	1
Singara	6	Beroea	1
Aradus	5	Mantineia	1
Emisa	3	Orchomenos	1
Hieropolis	3	Pylos	1
Neo Caesarea	3	Seleucia Pieria	1
Palmyra	3	Tarsus	1
Rhesaena	3	Zeugma	1
Caesarea	2	Uncertain (Parthian 2, Roman 5, Sassanian 1)	8

*Recapitulation by Roman Emperors.*

Claudius, Antioch 4	4
Vespasian, Antioch 1, Rome 1	2
Titus, Antioch 1, Rome 1	2
Domitian, Antioch 4	4
Nerva, Antioch 1	1
Trojan, Aradus 1	1
Antoninus Pius, Laodicea-ad-Mare 2, Zeugma 1	3
Faustina, Junior, Rome 1	1
Marcus Aurelius, Hieropolis 2, Caesarea 1	3

Septimius Severus, Edessa 3, Antioch 1, Amasia 1, Neo Caesarea 3, Rome 1	9
Julia Domna, Orchomenos 1	1
Geta, Mantinea 1	1
Caracalla, Carrhae 13, Edessa 1, Rhesaena 1, Antioch 3, Amasia 8, Pylos 1	27
Macrinus, Edessa 1	1
Elagabalus, Edessa 3, Antioch 8, Caesarea 1, Rome 1	13
Julia Soemias, Uncertain 1	1
Julia Maesia, Uncertain 1	1
Severus Alexander, Carrhae 1, Edessa 11, Nesibi 6, Antioch 9	27
Julia Mamaea, Edessa 1, Antioch 1	2
Gordian III, Carrhae 8, Edessa 14, Nesibi 2, Singara 6, Antioch 1	31
Tranquillina, Nesibi 1, Singara 2	3
Philip, Senior, Nesibi 5, Antioch 2	7
Herennia Etruscilla, Rhesaena 1	1
Philip, Junior, Antioch 6	6
Trajan Decius, Antioch 3	3
Tribonianus Gallus, Antioch 4	4
Volusian, Antioch 1	1
Valerian, Antioch 1	1
Gallienus, Antioch 1	1

## V

### NEW MATERIAL FOR THE HISTORY OF DURA

BY A. R. BELLINGER

THOUGH we have, as yet, no tangible evidence of an Assyrian settlement at Dura, the Greek city of Europos has assumed much clearer outlines. The inscription to Seleucus Nicator (D. 151) is the first that has come to light from the early days of the town's history: its condition, broken and worn and evidently discarded, shows that we can count on very little more material of that kind. But the coins are more durable, and the unique piece of Nicator (p. 149) gives us confirmatory evidence that the foundation was in his time, as the literary tradition says. The coins also show how this Greek settlement depended on Greek Antioch. Trade with the Arabs may well have been confined to barter, of which no trace remains. The twin temples to Artemis and Atargatis, which were partly excavated by Cumont, who believed them to be one, were part of this Seleucid city. It is likely, though not certain, that the temple of the Palmyrene gods was also, so that all elements of the population appear to have had their special places of worship. The remains of the treasury of the temple of Artemis furnish at least one object of definitely Seleucid workmanship: the jewel of a ring consisting of a female face of glass surrounded by a frame of gilded bronze, clearly a third-century Antiochene imitation of similar rings of gold and garnet made in Alexandria. This connection with Antioch is important in forming a true conception of the first centuries of the town. It was not a case of a small group of Hellenes marooned in the desert and left to preserve their institutions as best they could in the midst of barbarian nomads, but of an outpost in constant touch with one of the greatest centers of Hellenic life.

Further evidence of the cosmopolitan nature of the Parthian town is furnished by the continued relations with Syria, to which the coins testify, during the Parthian *régime*. The only gap is between Antiochus VIII (125-96 B.C.) and Claudius (41-54 A.D.).

Two new matters of great importance in connection with the Roman *régime* are defined by the results of the last campaigns: the granting of colonial status to the city, and its destruction. Our knowledge of the former rests on an inscription (D. 149) in which the official name of the city is given as Aurelia Antoniniana Europos. This makes it fairly certain that it was M. Aurelius Antoninus, commonly called Caracalla,



who made Dura a Roman colony, giving it his name, as he did in other cases. There are other indications that this was a period of especial prosperity for Dura. Not only are the casual coins from Septimius Severus on much more numerous but they show connection with the northern Mesopotamian towns, themselves places of suddenly increased significance at this time. There is even evidence of a regular trade of some sort with Pontus. But the colonial status was the result and not the cause of Dura's importance. Everything points to the conclusion that the frontier town was a more considerable place in Roman hands than it had been in Parthian. The increase in the military establishment evidently began under Commodus, 177-192. The little Roman temple built, *campo adimpliato*, by the centurion of the fourth Scythian legion is probably to be assigned to this reign (*Rep. II*, pp. 83 ff.) and Rowell argues (pp. 30 f., above) that the temple of Artemis was enlarged and reconstructed in the first half century of Roman occupation. Whatever was the extent of damage done by the earthquake of 160, it was certainly followed by a considerable amount of building, partly to care for the enlarged military force, still more, no doubt, because the greater security provided by that force encouraged the mercantile life of the city. It was, then, a flourishing settlement which Caracalla found in 215 when he was about to undertake his Parthian campaign and which he further dignified with the rank of colony, whose most visible effect is the sudden appearance of numbers of Aurelii among the inscriptions. Rostovtzeff has already stated the problem in regard to the extension of the franchise (*Rep. I*, pp. 57, 58) and we are as yet no nearer a solution. It is not likely that the government was affected. It is true that we have no evidence of a Boule which is earlier than this. Tableau XVII of the temple of the Palmyrene gods, which bears the name and portrait of a Bouleutes is reasonably attributed by Cumont (p. 143) to the epoch of the Severi and the other instance of this title (Cumont, *Inscr.* 50) is in a dedication whose authors are called Aurelii. But we need have no doubt in admitting that the Boule, a Seleucid creation, persisted through the Parthian period. We have only to refer to the case of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris where Tacitus (*Ann.* vi. 42) speaks of *trecenti opibus aut sapientia delecti ut senatus*. So firmly was it established there that coins were actually struck with the inscription BOYΛHC (see p. 151, No. 45, below and *B.M.C.*, Parthia, p. xlvi, Pl. XXVI, Nos. 6-8). Some change the Romans may have made in the administration (see on D. 145, and *Rep. II*, pp. 160, 161) but there is no reason to assign these changes, if they actually took place, to so late a period.

If Caracalla found Dura already a city of some consequence, his favor still further increased that consequence. The final reconstruction of the temple of Artemis dates from his time, the second group of frescoes in the temple of the Palmyrene gods and the ambitious adornment of the temple of Atargatis of which D. 146 is a remnant, are works of the first half of the third century. If it is merely a coincidence that both the hoards of coins begin with Caracalla, it is a suggestive one, for it is after his reign that silver as well as bronze begins to occur among the casual finds. Granted that the base silver of the third century was of little value, it was sufficiently valuable for some people to save in pots. But there were other people rich enough and careless enough to drop even their tetradrachms and let them go. This agrees very well with the picture that we get of the period: a time when money was not lacking, and pretentious ornament was much affected, but when the arts, major and minor, show a distinct lack of care and skill and taste.

The destruction of the city was one of the incidents in the vigorous campaign of Sapor I, the Sassanian king whose conquering armies marched into the very heart of Syria. Earlier than 256 it cannot be, for there are coins of that date in the larger hoard, but, as they are the latest, it is reasonable to assume that the city fell in that year. Now it is generally agreed that it was in 256 that Sapor first invaded Syria and took Antioch. Our accounts of this affair are much scantier than we could wish, but Bury (in Gibbon, Vol. I, Appendix 17) regards three points as certain: (1) the capture of Antioch in 256; (2) its recapture by Valerian in 257; (3) its second capture by Sapor at some time after Valerian had been taken prisoner by the Sassanians in 259. The source which gives the most useful information for our purpose is Malalas (XII, Ed. Bonn, p. 296) whose words are worth quoting. καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ αὐτὸς Σαπῶρης βασιλεὺς Περσῶν, μετὰ δυνάμεως στρατοῦ πολλοῦ διὰ τοῦ λιμίτου Χαλκίδος, καὶ παραλαμβάνει τὴν Συρίαν πᾶσαν καὶ πραιδεύει αὐτήν, καὶ παραλαμβάνει Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ καὶ πραιδεύει αὐτήν, καὶ στρέφει καὶ καίει αὐτήν, χρηματιζούσης τότε τῆς μεγάλης Ἀντιοχείας τιδ'. "And Sapor himself, King of the Persians, came with a great military force through the territory of Chalcis and took possession of all Syria and plundered it (πραιδεύω = praedo). And he took possession of Antioch, the great city in the west and plundered it and overthrew and burned it, Antioch the great being then in its 314th year." There is no doubt that he is referring to the first invasion, for he goes on to speak of Valerian's campaign, but his date makes a difficulty. The era of Antioch was the Caesarian Era; beginning in 49 B.C. (*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. 160) and the year 314

would therefore be 264/5 A.D. This is possibly the true date of the second invasion. However that may be, Malalas gives us two pieces of important information. First, Sapor invaded Syria through Chalcidice, that is, by way of Aleppo and therefore up the Euphrates road. He must have passed Dura. Second, it was a campaign not only of conquest but of destruction. Now the condition in which we found the temple of Atargatis makes it certain that it was destroyed by the town's captors. Time and occasional earthquakes may account for much, but the breaking of strong rubble walls, the confusion of *débris* and, still more, the traces of fire not only there but in many other places about the city bespeak the hand of violent conquest. In the midst of this confusion one coin, with part of another stuck to it, though badly damaged, shows unmistakably the type of Sapor I. Someone of the looting party, in an accommodating spirit all too rare, dropped the pieces for the benefit of the excavator, completing a chain of evidence about as satisfactory as archaeological evidence can be. We cannot entirely reject the possibility that Dura escaped the first Sassanian invasion, to fall when the Persian forces retreated from Syria or at their second offensive but, since all the evidence fits the earliest date, there is surely no need of putting forward an alternative hypothesis.

Did the Sassanians entirely abandon the city they had destroyed or did they leave a garrison in charge? If the coat of mail (p. 81) is actually Sassanian it must have belonged to a Persian soldier stationed at Dura, for no one in the heat of battle would take off his suit of mail, nor would an army on a march of invasion leave equipment of that sort behind them. But it is hardly possible to date the armor with certainty, and, since it may have been a Roman or Parthian warrior's garment we cannot rely upon it for continued occupation by the conquerors. A more important indication is the hasty but vigorous fresco scenes found in the campaign of 1930-31 which seem to be Sassanian work. About them, however, it would be premature to argue at present.

Rostovtzeff's theory that the city was reoccupied by the Palmyrenes receives no new support from the finds of 1929-30. Indeed it is weakened somewhat by the ruinous condition of the temple of Atargatis which, as the sanctuary of the great Syrian goddess, they should have repaired if they repaired anything. Johnson's hypothesis that Dura was still occupied in 272 when Zenobia fled to the Euphrates remains a bare hypothesis still. The year 256 is, for the present, our last sure point.



## ADDENDA

BY M. I. ROSTOVITZEFF

P. 26—*Fresco.*

The picture in the House of the Priests has nothing to do with scenes of funeral banquet except for the general scheme of composition which has no connection with the cult of the dead. The scheme of the fresco is typical of Partho-Babylonian scenes of sacrifice in which a god or a goddess is represented stretched on a couch. I may quote, for example, the bas-relief of Palmyra in Chabot, Pl. XXII, I (the bas-relief to the left), and hundreds of terra cottas and alabaster statuettes from lower Mesopotamia which show reclining gods and goddesses ready for receiving a cult. The picture of the house is therefore a scene of sacrifice to one of the gods worshiped in the two temples.

P. 45—*Gemellus.*

The possibility that Gemellus was *legatus legionis* and not *legatus* of the province must, of course, be kept in mind.

P. 54—*ψαλίς.*

*C.I.S.* II, 3, 3912; Ditt. *O.G.*, 631; *I.G.R.R.* III, 1057, an inscription on the road from Palmyra to Rakkah, records a dedication to Zeus: τὴν καμέραν ὠκοδόμησεν καὶ τὴν κλίνην. The Palmyrene version is rendered "cameram et lectum." In *C.I.S.* II, 3, 4187 καμάρα is called ψαλίς. Cf. 4194 "conclava." Were these vaulted chambers, and is this the meaning of the ψαλίδες in the temples at Dura?

Pp. 88-100—*Altar.*

The composition of the scene of sacrifice on the altar is exactly similar to the composition of a bas-relief recently discovered at Palmyra which shows the well-known Orodes sacrificing before a god who is represented in the uniform of a Parthian officer (soon to be published by Professor Ingholt). This bas-relief in its turn reproduces a composition typical of the Palmyrene tesserae: sacrifice of a standing man before a standing god. Strikingly similar to the standing figure of the altar is the standing figure of a man in Parthian military costume on a peculiar tessera of the Louvre described and reproduced by Delaporte, *Cylindres du Louvre*, II, Pl. 125, Fig. 21a and 21b. The inscription near the figure says: Jarhai, son of Borepha. On the reverse of the tessera is the Venus-star and the inscription Malakbel Gad Taimai, i.e. Malakbel and the Gad (Tyche) of the Taimai (cf. Chabot, p. 42).

The camel and the palm tree on one of the two sides of the altar remind me of the common type of Nabataean, Thamuddaean, and Safaitic graffiti scratched or incised on the rocks which show figures of camels and palm trees, see, for example, Ch. Huber, *Journal d'un Voyage en Arabie*, 1891, p. 287. The Sinaitic inscriptions will be found in

*Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*, and the Safaitic, both inscriptions and drawings, in the well-known book of R. Dussaud, *Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, 1907. The camel was the sacred animal of the Arabs as is shown by the many Palmyrene tesserae which represent the god 'Arsu and his camel or the camel alone with its attendant. I have dealt with these tesserae and the cult of 'Arsu and Azizu in a memoir soon to be published in the number of the *Journal of Roman Studies* dedicated to Sir George Macdonald.

P. 146—*Pontic coins*.

It is likely that these coins from Pontic towns were brought to Dura by troops who had been stationed in Pontus and were later transferred to the Parthian front.

## INDEX OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

### *A. Names of Men and Women.*

- |                                   |                                  |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 'Αβεισμαχχίνιος, D. 152           | Εὐθυνίκη, D. 162                 |
| 'Αβιδνήριγλος, D. 161             | Ζαβιδιλαῖος, D. 161              |
| 'Αβούλιμ, D. 153                  | Λυσανίας, D. 157                 |
| 'Αθηνόφιλα, D. 144                | Λυσίας, D. 162                   |
| 'Αμμώνιος, D. 144, D. 157, D. 164 | Μάξιμος, D. 158                  |
| 'Απολλοφάνης, D. 157              | Μάσιχος, D. 160                  |
| Αὐρήλιος, D. 155                  | Μένανδρος, D. 148                |
| Βαρσάς, D. 154                    | Νεῖκαρχος(?), D. 143             |
| Γέμελλος, D. 145                  | Νικάνωρ, D. 159                  |
| Δαμόνικος, D. 148                 | Νινναῖα, D. 153                  |
| Δάνυμος, D. 162                   | Σέλευκος, D. 144, D. 157, D. 162 |
| Διογένης, D. 148                  | Σκαυριανός, D. 158               |
| Διονύσιος, D. 148, D. 159         | - - ουδαν, D. 146                |

### *B. Names of Roman Emperors and Kings.*

- |                                |                             |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 'Αντωνιανή(?), D. 143          | 'Ιουλία Δόμνα, D. 149       |
| Αὐρηλιανός 'Αντωνιανός, D. 149 | Σέλευκος Νικάτωρ(?), D. 151 |

### *C. Names of Divinities.*

- |   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| 'Αδωναῖος(?), D. 146  | 'Ιαρεῖβωλος, D. 143 |
| 'Απόλλων, D. 156, D. 161  | Σάδδουδαν, D. 160   |
| "Αρτεμῖς, D. 156, D. 161  | Σασάδης, D. 158     |
| 'Αταργάτις ('Αταραγάτιδι), D. 145; ('Ατ-<br>ραγάτη), D. 146; ('Αταραγάτειος), D.<br>159 |                     |

### *D. Geographical Name.*

- Εὐρωπαῖος, D. 149

### *E. Dated Inscriptions.*

- |                   |                        |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| 2 A.D.—D. 161     | 91 A.D.—D. 157         |
| 33 A.D.—D. 152    | 92 A.D.—D. 159         |
| 48—57 A.D.—D. 163 | 118 A.D.—D. 164        |
| 54 A.D.—D. 147    | 225 or 235 A.D.—D. 146 |
| 74 A.D.—D. 153    | 235 A.D.—D. 160        |
| 76 A.D.—D. 144    | 249 A.D.—D. 154        |



*F. Administrative Titles and Terms.*

Αὐγοῦστα, D. 149

βουλή, D. 149

ἐκατόνταρχος(?), D. 143

ἐπαρχος(?), D. 143

πρεσβευτῆς Σεβαστοῦ, D. 145

σπείρα(?), D. 143

σύνκλητος, D. 149

χιλίαρχος(?), D. 143

*G. Greek Words.*

ἀγαθός, D. 159

ἀδελφός, D. 148

ἀνατίθημι, D. 160

ἀνεγείρω, D. 148, D. 150, D. 152; (ἀνέ-

γρεν), D. 153, D. 157, D. 159; (ἀνή-

γισεν), D. 161, D. 164

ἀρχηγός, D. 161

γέρων, D. 154

γυνή, D. 159, D. 162

ἐαυτοῦ (αἰαυτοῦ), D. 161

ἔτος, D. 144, D. 146, D. 147, D. 148,

D. 152, D. 153, D. 157, D. 159, D.

160, D. 161, D. 162, D. 163, D. 164

εὐκοσμία, D. 159

εὖχομαι, D. 158

ζωγραφέω, D. 146

ζωγράφημα or ζωγραφεία, D. 146

θεός, D. 158, D. 160

θυγάτηρ, D. 144, D. 153, D. 165

θύρωμα, D. 157, D. 164

ἱερεύς, D. 152

ἱερός, D. 149, D. 159

μήτηρ, D. 148, D. 149

οἰκοδομή, D. 150, D. 152, D. 157

οἶκος, D. 159, D. 164

στράτευμα, D. 149

σύναιμος, D. 148

σωτηρία, D. 148, D. 159

ταμειῖον, D. 159

τέκνον, D. 148, D. 159, D. 161

τύχη, D. 159

ὕγεια (ὕγίας), D. 148, D. 161

ψαλῖς, D. 150, D. 152

## PLATES







1. Court of the Temple of Artemis, looking northeast



2. The Odeum



1. Court of the Temple of Atargatis with dedication of Gemellus



2. Court of the Temple of Atargatis from the east entrance

### III



1. Temple of Atargatis. Room with gradins and pedestals

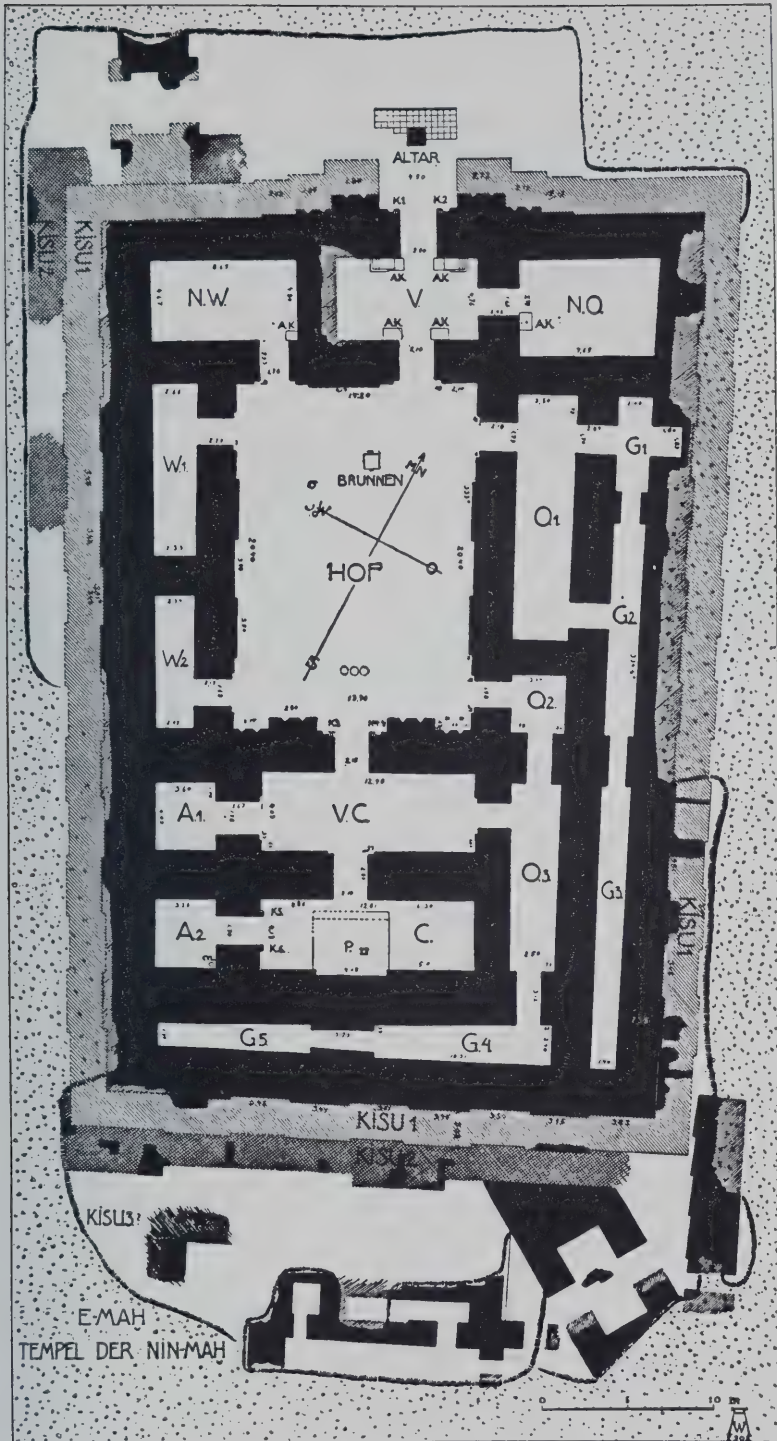


2. Digging Tower 12 *ter*



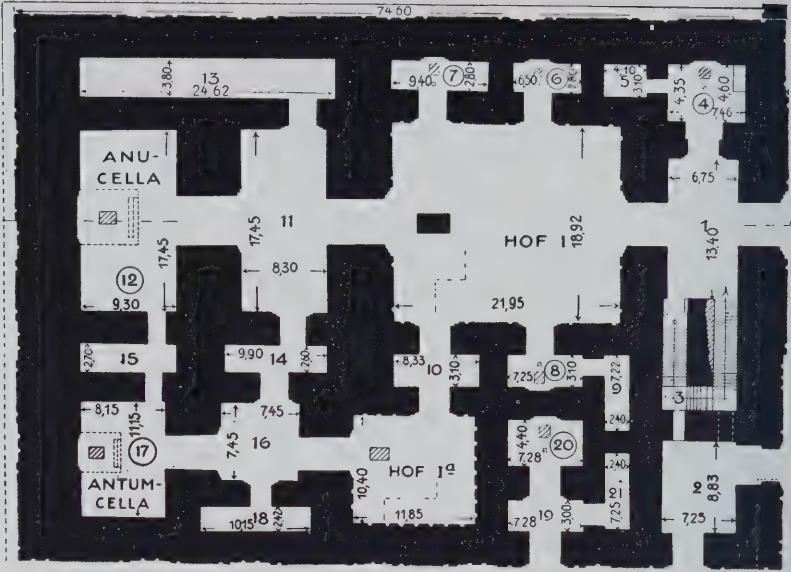


Plan of the Temples of Artemis and Atargatis and the Priests' House

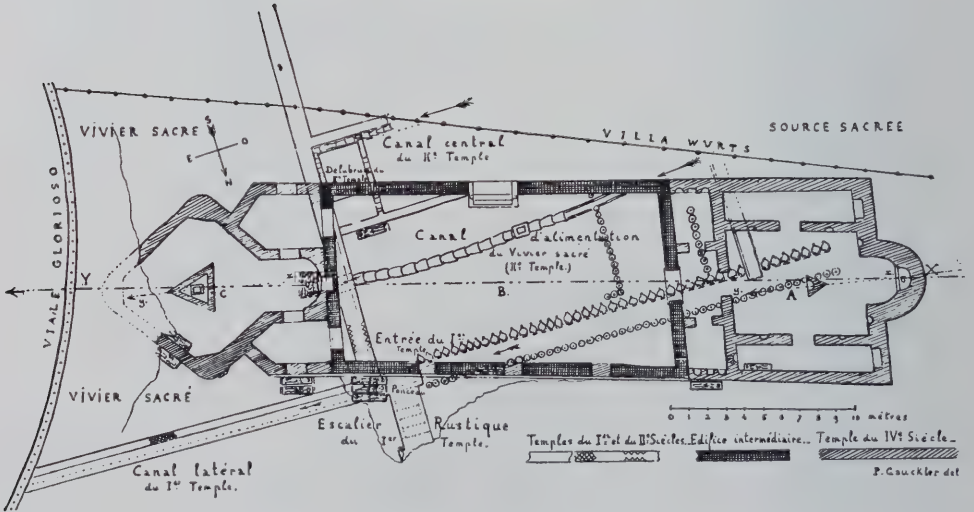


Temple of Ninmach at Babylon

## VI



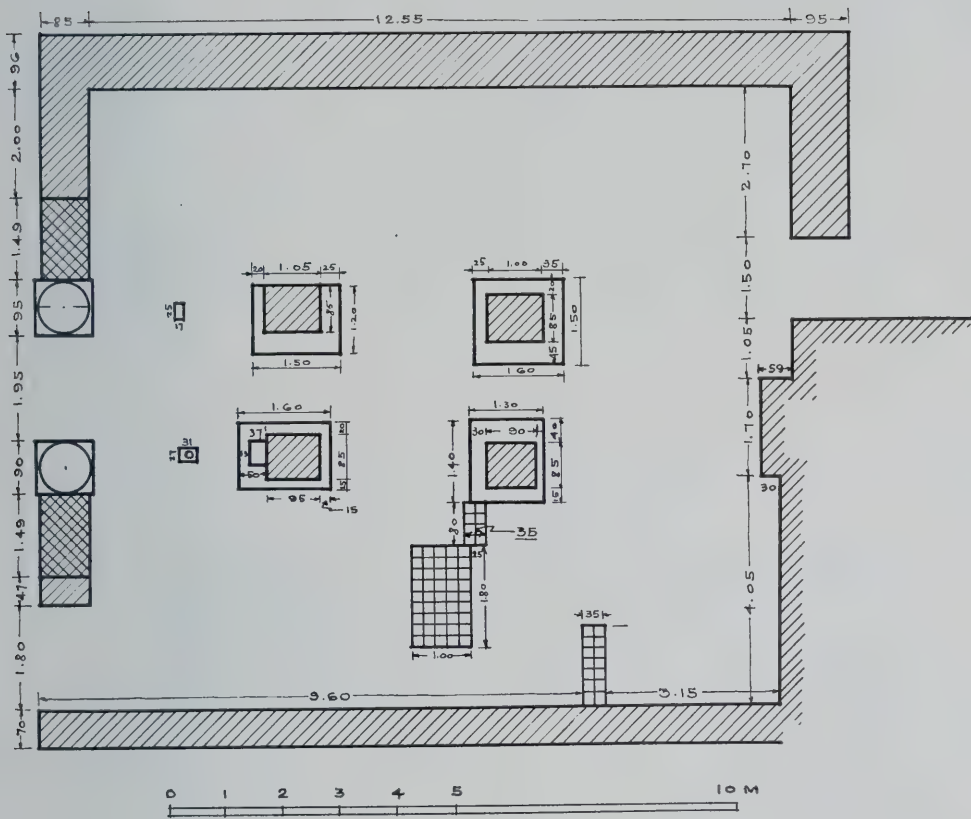
### 1. Temple of Anu-Antum at Warka



## 2. Syrian Sanctuary on the Janiculum



## VII



 WALLED DOORWAY  
 TRACES OF OLD LEVEL

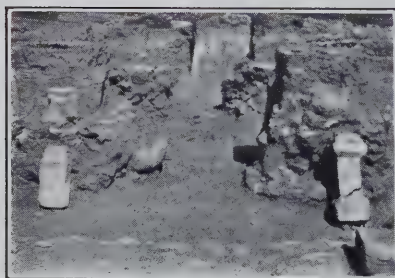
Building northeast of Palmyra Gate



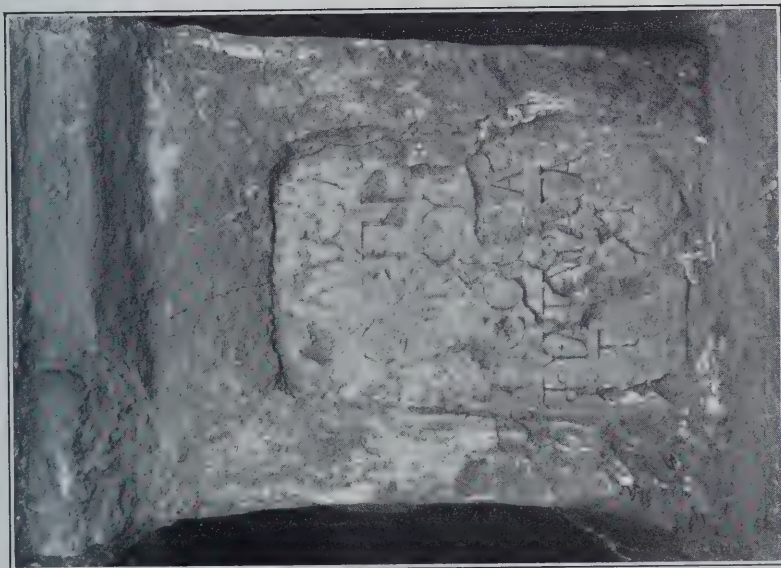
1. Building northeast of Palmyra Gate looking north



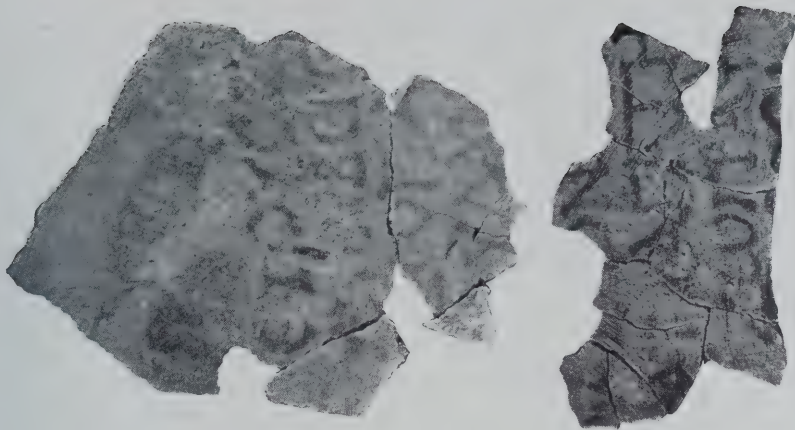
2. Looking southeast



3. Looking north

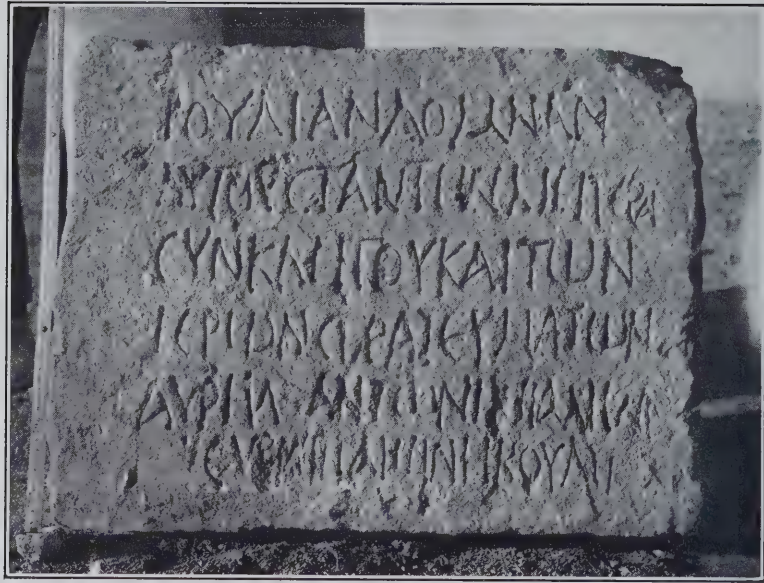


1. Dedication of Gemellus

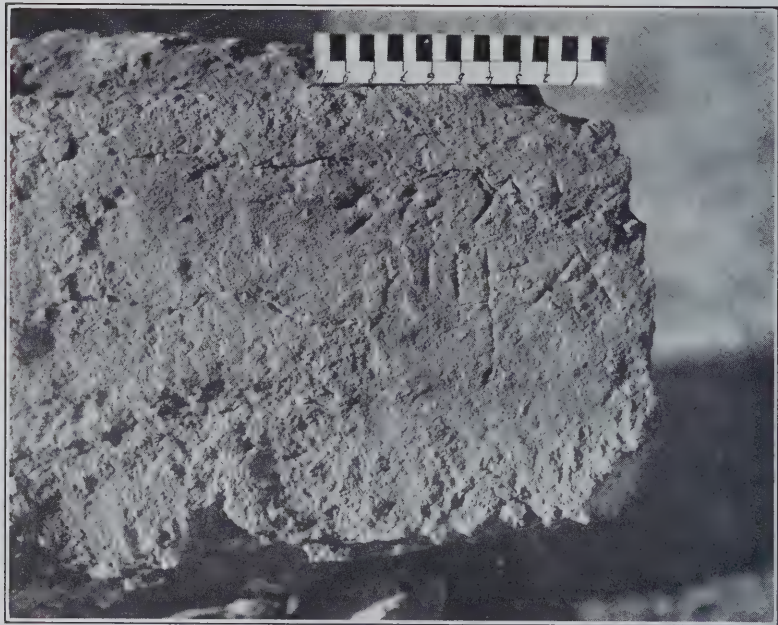


2. Painted Inscription

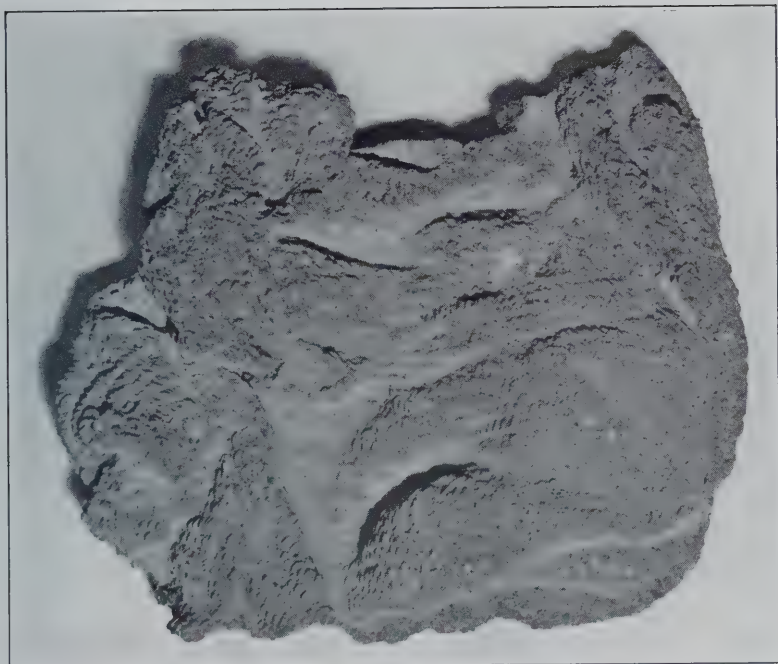




1. Dedication to Julia Domna



2. Inscription of Seleucus Nicator



1. Chain Mail



2. Parthian Altar, front



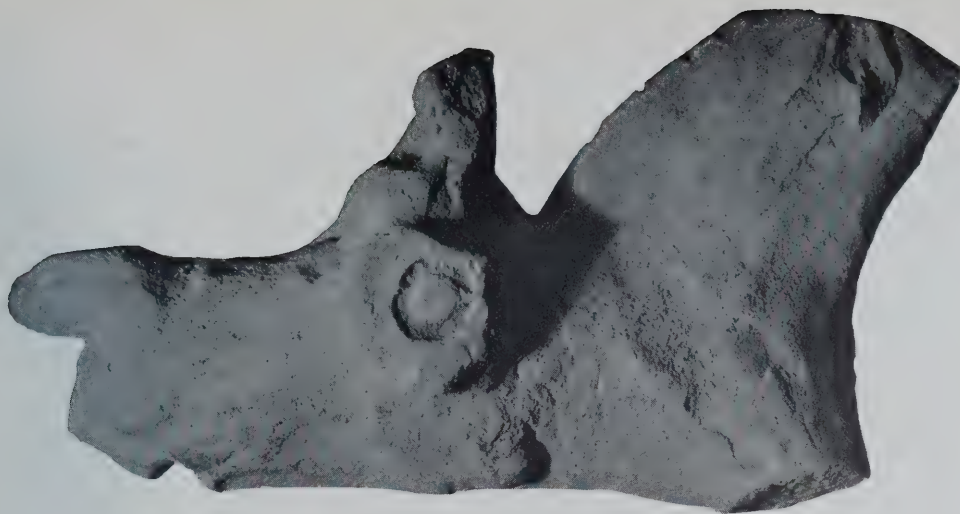


1. Parthian Altar, right side



2. Parthian Altar, left side





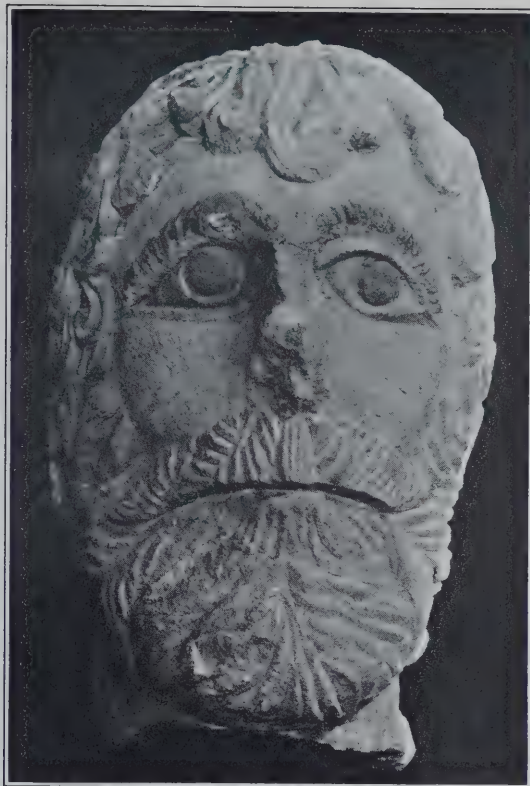
1. Terra Cotta Figurine



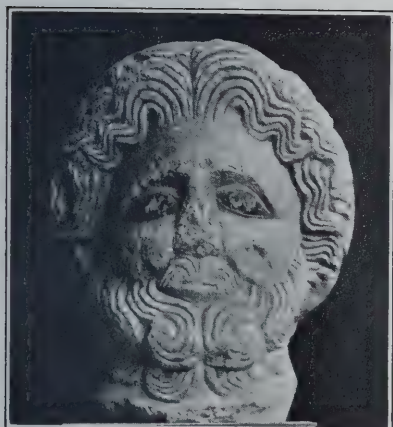
2. Clay Plaque



Relief of Hadad and Atargatis



1. Male Head from Dura



2. Zeus Bronton, in Berlin

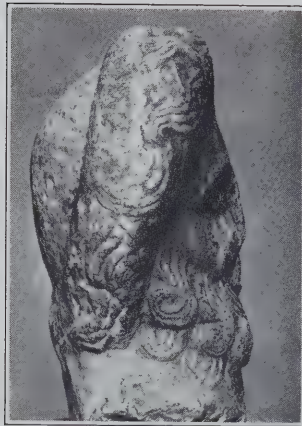


3. Terra Cotta Head from Angora,  
in Berlin





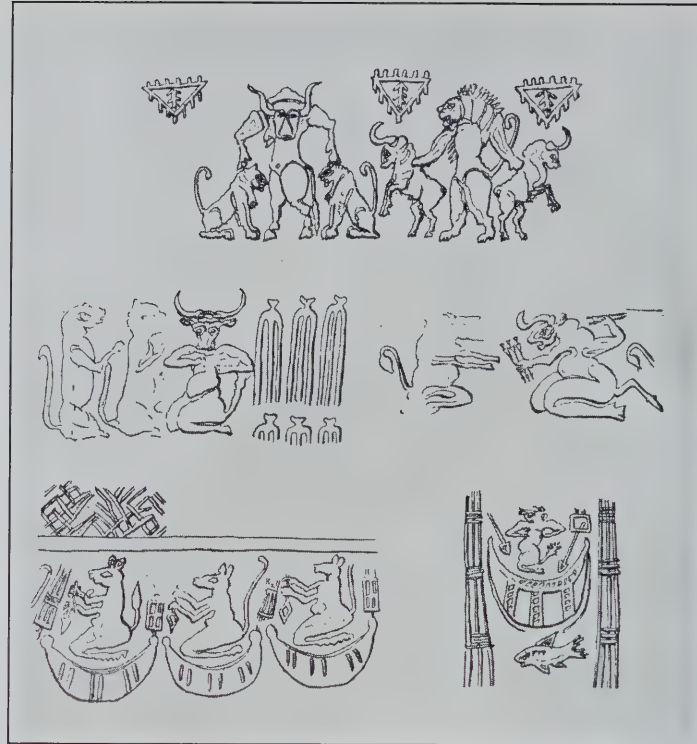
1. Male Head from Dura



2. Zeus Bronton, in Berlin



Female Bust from Dura



1-5. Elamite Cylinders



6. Coin of Carrhae



7. Coin of Hieropolis



8. Coin of Carrhae





1. Semitic Stele



2. Palmyrene Tesseræ, in the Bibliothèque Nationale



Bronze Statuette of Hadad, in the Louvre













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